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A
Full Answer
TO THE
DEPOSITIONS,

And to all other the Pretences and Arguments whatsoever,

Concerning the Birth of the Pretended

James Edward Bruce Earl of Stair
PRINCE of WALES.

The Intrigue thereof detected.

The whole Design being set forth, with the Way and Manner of doing it.

Whereunto is annex'd,

A Map, or Survey, Engraven on Copper, of St. James's Palace, and the Convent there : Describing the Place wherein it is suppos'd the true Mother was Deliver'd : With the particular Doors and Passages, thro' which the Child was convey'd

TO THE
QUEEN'S Bed-Chamber.

Printed in the Year 1711.

W. Augrave

T H E

Introductory Discourse.

IN the pursuit of this Discourse, I shall be forced to make use of all publick as well as private Circumstances, which however at first sight may seem unvaluable, yet are necessary to the finding out of this hidden secret, and to bring it to the Light. The more Arguments we overthrow the less can be rallied up in the designing Heads of those Men, who have either the little Wit or Honesty to entertain the Chimera of a Prince of *Wales*, or any confused Ideas to uphold it.

I will gather up all the Circumstances of this Birth, and will here remunerate what others have perhaps Carelessly or Ignorantly past by, and not inspected into the Artifice whereby to detect it; and weighing some, will shew you their Falseness and Inconsistencies, then leading you to others, which you finding no otherwise, will I hope be oblig'd to go thro'out, wherein nothing can be found but ridiculous incongruous, and impertinet Pretences: And finally, the whole will demonstrate the improbability, nay, impossibility of this Child's being really born of the Queen: And if I prove that, I think the matter will be sufficiently refuted, since the Question is not whose it is, if it be not the Queens.

I must confess, I should not bandy these things about to the dishonour of a King, were they not made use of to the defrauding of a Princess of her Birth-right, and upon which the Opponents are so vehemently resolved, that they Catch, like drowning Men, at every trifle, to uphold their weak and suffocated Pretences.

The first part of the design concerning Milk, Bigness, and likelihood of Miscariage, had not Craft nor Art, so as to make them appear real on the test of a nice Scrutiny; but was only carried on by insipid and frivolous Pretences, and the downright denial (on all requests whatsoever) of exposing any thing to be inspected. Now if their bare Words can so far work on People, as to make them believe this is a true Birth, and that on such trifling Circumstances, notwithstanding this infallible Rule, *viz.* That they would have shewn (for their own interest) undeniable matters, had her Majesty been really with Child. If then, I say, we are Gull'd with such Pretences, we are in a fair way to have *Mahomet* pawn'd upon us for a true Prophet, since the Word of a *Mussulman* was ever of more validity than that of a *Roman* Catholick, or Rascally Protestant.

The unperceived carrying of the Child into the Queen's Bed, was not so much owing to a cleanly conveyance, as to their unjust Proceedings,

ings, by withstanding the Directions of the Law, which decrees, *That the Woman shall for several Months before, notifie the*
 25. *Lib. Digest.* Room where She intends to be Delivered, which Room
 Titul. 4. Sect. shall be searched, and all the Doors belonging thereto be
De Inspiciendo Nailed up, and securely fastned, except one, at which
 ventre. door, during such time before the intended Delivery,
 shall be set honest, impartial and ressonible People, to

see that no Child be conveyed into the Room, and the Confederates say she was thereof Delivered. This would have rendred the Design ineffectual : But by their Surreptitious Practices they frustrated all such endeavours which ('tis possible) Princess *Ann* would have pursued ; and by Violences and Threats added to their Surreptitiousness, they deterred those honest People from any such attempt, or inquisitive Observation, who perhaps had the conveniency and cunning to perform it.

Again, The Trick of the Labour and Delivery was not so Curiously done, nor indeed could the most dexterous Actions have kept it from having been more plainly discovered, had good and impartial Witnesses been present, who would have desired to see more than these Witnesses did, as the Child's coming out of the Womb, a matter impossible to have been in any wise counterfeited ; and who would, in case of a Denial, have protested against their Proceedings : But the accomplishing this Imposture, was owing to the weakness of the Parties then present, who received whatever the Confederates imposed, and look'd no farther than what they were pleased to shew them.

Query, Whether every Soul in the Nation that but implicitly believes the Queen had a seeming great Belly (for no one can prove it otherwise) that she said she had Milk, and was afraid of miscarrying, that she Screamed, that a Child was taken out of the Bed, and an after-Burthen shewn ; whether I say, every one believing these things, can not draw upon Oath as fair a deposition as any they have ?

From which it appears, that their Preliminaries could be no other than pretensive, no free sight thereof being offered or allowed ; and consequently the Suspicions thence arising could not have been concealed by the greatest Art or Sophistry : And all were deterred from looking any farther into 'em, than what they were pleased to shew by Threats of Punity, which by only attempting, they must have been liable to, and yet perhaps not been suffered to see the Truth of the thing designed. Those pitiful and little Circumstances that fear, ignorance or design, made the Witnesses take on trust, were far from the plain, perfect and naked Truth, which they might have seen, had Honesty, Courage or Wisdom, but prevailed over their servile Compliance.

This falsely supplanting of an Heir is contrary to the Law of God and Man, that they were safe from the Judgments of the first ; their Priests, by their Exorcisms bewitch them to believe that the Act was Meritorious ; hereby giving the lye to the very Nature within them. And when a Man is drawn so far, he can with the greatest satisfaction imaginable, act contrary to the known letter of the other, provided there is any prospect of the Acts being kept private, or a hand that can protect him from the punity to be incurr'd : So that Privacy being the only thing desired, Men of Riches, Authority, and ill Consciences,

are those of all others, that can the most easily attain their desires : And consequently, the King as promoter, can for his desired Interest effect it, whereby the undertakers are rendred safe and unassailable.

That design is highly capable of being performed, when besides the Wages it pays for the bringing it to pass, 'tis for the Heavenly Reward as well of the Undertaker as Promoter : When the Promoter too can largely Reward for their entering upon it, or punish, in case of refusal ; and when once enter'd, their fear of being discovered to Justice, and the dread of Assassination, by the Instigation of the powerful Parties employing them, in case they wilfully detect the Cheat, or carelessly neglect to perform what is requisite to a private perpetration, will make them studiously endeavour that which may claim the highest Rewards due from a Monarch, and what may secure their own Carcasses from the Punishment, to which an open detection may render themselves obnoxious.

There is yet a further advantage to such designs, when the Authors have such power as to make it Criminal, to look into their Practices.

Rapes, Murders, &c. where a Publick acting would not only hinder the design, but deliver up the party to condign Punishment, must be supposed to be more warily performed than Actions of *Petty Larceny*, and therefore shall not be presumed to be, or possibly can be, subject to the like visible perception, as things done in publick Streets and Places. Now if in these Cases the Law accepts of Matters only Circumstantial in Evidence, how much more Favourable ought it be to the Circumstances we bring, in as much as this Case required more privacy than the former ; for in those, the violent Passions of Lust and Revenge so hurry on the Actor, that they cannot be supposed to take due premeditation ; and consequently, the Acts are more liable to be publicly seen. For the other Cases, the Act may be performed notwithstanding an open detection, and their Lust and Revenge may be reach'd among thousands, but this is utterly lost, should it come but to the sight of any one Party not of the Confederacy. So that their steps in this design, being not incumbered with any Passions, must be presumed to be done with the greater Premeditation, and consequently, a Privacy unseen by any ; to which Privacy the Opulency and Authority of the Parties, as I said before, were much conducing, therefore this Cheat, above all others that have appeared to this Day, ought to be admitted to be proved by Circumstances. Tho' I will *ex abundante*, lay down Facts sworn to by their Witnesses, and by the King owned to be true, *viz.* The whole Depositions, which by a due Genuine Construction, Learned Lawyers say, amount the greatest, nicest, and most strict Evidence, that the Law can require ; both which I shall fully bring before you, only desiring, e'er I begin the summoning up the Evidence, to lay down the three following Observations.

Let me remind you that the King slip'd into to the Throne, or at least had his Right of Succession, (which some of the long Robe say he had forfeited) continued to him by reason of our own unhappy Dissensions, I mean that of the Church-men and Presbyterians. And his Majesty being of neither, equally endeavoured the Ruin of both, his Policy forced, and our Folly suffered ourselves to be enjoyed by turns

of all we could yield, the Advantages he gained naturally flowing to strengthen the Hands of our own voracious Adversaries.

The Church of *England* seated him in the Throne of his Fathers, and the Presbyterians added Thunder to his Scepter, by their immoderate asserting some things they well-meaningly thought would be necessary, for the Establishing the Liberty they so earnestly wished for. And both gave him the opportunity and convenience of raising an Army: The one by calling in *Monmouth*, and the other by suffering him to keep that Army in Pay, when there was no good Reason for its continuance.

So then having brought him thus far, fortified with a very powerful Army, a Mind Thoughtful, Severe, Resolute, Avenging, &c. a Prerogative stretcht to absolute Authority without reserve, directly leading to the greatest Acts of Tyranny, when it had met with an Opportunity, as it had with the depraved Will of one who would use it to the utmost. Add to this, as a Driver on to execute such Resolves, the Inveteracy, Heat, and Malice of a Bigotted Queen, that Imperiously Commanded him to do what the Villany of a Jesuit craftily insinuated, while another of the same Brood prepared the King's Conscience to receive whatever they designed to stamp. The ill Humours of which Body (I mean the Jesuits) were grown to a fermentation, their Mischiefs for some time had been kept in, like the Quills of a Porcupine; who daring not, or having no Opportunity to exert them, were grown the more in Number to do larger Execution, and the longer, when discharged, to enter the deeper.

Consider the Advantages made by his unjustly assumed Prerogative and Army, &c. under the Covert of which the Queen, Jesuits and Evil Counsellors commanded, Connived at, or animated to the greatest Oppression and Slavery ever any Country lay under, whose Municipal Laws ordered Punishments for such Treasons, and to which the King himself is in some measure Accountable; yet did they act with so much Violence, as if we had been his Implacable Enemies, not his Loving Subjects, but a conquered and forfeited Nation that had deserved no Quarter, but were designed for Slaughter, and our Bloods the Victim to appease their Rage and Revenge.

This hostile Invasion of our Liberties (but why should I use such a precarious Term?) No, our Birth-rights, our Natural Inheritance as the Heirs of Gods Earth, was certain to be accounted for by the Successor apparent; whereby all those Schools, Chapels and Convents, with such vast Charge impudently Erected, would have been Seised. They had run themselves into great Premunires, and laid out great Sums, and it was a sad Thought to call to mind the Punishment they had incurred for the one, and the loss to be sustained by the forfeiture of the other: That having designed for an everlasting Power and Inheritance, had no more than a small span betwixt themselves and the Gallows; no more than a short enjoyment during the life of an infirm King, and then to be delivered up to the Justice of an abused Nation.

This consideration made them seek for a prevention (of the puny supposed) by setting up a Popish Successor: Now if this con-

deration and way of prevention, were not first had e're they began their Oppressions, yet it naturally resolved it self (after Perpetration) into the setting up such a one that might keep out the Heir, which would consequently have Indemnified them from the punity incurred, and continued a lasting Enjoyment of their purchased Lands, by a further and better settlement of their Religion, than could be expected to be done in the Kings life time : Or had he lived till it had been done, it would have still been liable to be unravelled by a Protestant Heir ; from all which they could in no wise be safe, but by trumping up a Supposititious Successor. This was their Hope, this was their Reprieve, this was their only Salvation ; the Principles of their Religion first animated them to such Villanies, which necessitated them to this further act ; this heaping ills upon ills, to cover themselves from Justice

Well then, notwithstanding the utter Impossibilities of the Queens bringing forth, yet a Child (and that a Male too) must be had, which being only Preterfive and not Real, must absolutely be attended with apparent and bare-faced Rogueries, thinking (no question) by the strength they had gained, to uphold it, maugre all Suspicions and Discoveries, against our most Just, although Impotent Cries, which by their Oppressions were so Rendred, and had so Continued, had not God raised up a Prince to Deliver and Protect us from the Villanies, acted under a pretended Successor, conceived in Contradictions, and upheld by the dint of a slavish and foolish Impudence. Which I shall now proceed to Detect.

The Queens being with Child, was declared at a time before which they could not have set about such a thing, nor could they have possibly deferred it any longer ; they could not do it till an Embassador had been at *Rome*, to settle a good Correspondence there, for his Majesty's being so much inclined to the *French* Interest, and not owning at that time, with the *French* King, the Popes Supremacy, therefore there was a necessity of settling that Affair, and to know whether his Holiness would stand by the pretended Prince, if the People of *England* should Dispute his Title, in case His Majesty could not decline the *French* Interest, nor at present submit to the Supremacy ; which matters were all settled by the Earl of *Castlemaine* so well, that about *August* following came over a Nuncio, of no less Quality than a Count, to finish this Business, which no question was conceded on all hands by His Majesty : For indeed, what terms could prevent the Pope from so blessed a Patrimony as *England*, or make the Zealous King to have the frown of His Holiness ? And it cannot be supposed, altho' there had been no steps made towards such an Heir, but that the Nuncio would have urg'd it ; for that the Popish Instruments were never known to slip any opportunity for the promotion of their Cause, where either Force, Fraud, Murder, War, or the greatest of Villanies, could gain any thing to it, and that there was such an opportunity is undeniable ; and the King and Queen, if not first movers, yet were easily induced thereto. Now that they could not defer it longer, is likewise as evident, for that having lost their aim of that Slavish Liberty they intended, and that it cooled every day more
and

and more, this was to re-inforce the design; which that it might not quite die, could not longer be deferred to quicken it. So that here is necessity, request, advice, propositions, opportunity and interest, both for the Religion, the Inslaving the People, and his dear beloved Arbitrary Government.

Because the most busie and designing of the Papists seemed so certain of a Child, maugre all the improbabilities alledged from the Weakness and Imperfections of the King and Queen; and so confident were they in the thing, that they confidently affirmed it should be a Boy, knowing that although the Queen could not have one, yet the Jesuits were about it, and would set up a Child, which being choice, and not chance, nor Providence, would certainly be a Boy.

And this matter of Fact is undeniable from what Mrs. Celier, in her Printed Answer, to a certain Doctors Queries: Her Words are these, viz. *And now, Doctor, let me put you in mind, that tho' you have laughed at me, and some Doctors have accounted me a mad Woman these last four Years, for saying Her Majesty was full of Children, 'tis now proved so true, that I hope we shall have a Prince of Wales.* Now here it can never be presumed that Mistress Celier knew it by her Skill, for that all Doctors (with whom Mistress Celier is not to come in Competition for Skill) thought it a thing so impossible that they laughed at the assertion, which is the greatest gain saying of a thing, insomuch as it was so plain, that they thought it neither required reasoning nor demonstration. Well then, if these Men by Skill (for against that she accepts not) laugh at it, what made Mistress Celier so arrogantly defend it, why truly for the reason abovesaid, because she's a knowing discerning Woman, to whom the Jesuits will give or take advice, or communicate, as one the fittest in such tricks, so that she is cunning and arrogant we will readily acknowledge; the first is shown by slipping the Halter, which was her desert, for a Pillory; and the other, by this ridiculous and fanciful expression of the Queen's being full of Children. In the same Paragraph she intimated that the Queen should have all Boys, for she was full of 'em. Such things have often been attempted, and particularly in Queen Mary's Reign, between which and this present, there certainly never was a fitter Parallel: And indeed Queen Mary went so well about it, that they could not take a better Pattern (having it, no question, by Tradition) for it went on so well 'till the pretended time of Delivery, that there was not the least hesitation, and had not then stopt, but that Phillip would not acquiesce, in hopes that the Queen would Die, and then the Princess Elizabeth for all his Favours (this being one) would after such her Sister's Decease, reward him with her Person, which he pursued by going out of the Land to break his Queen's Heart, as it did, and then solicited the thing after as is apparent; for he thought he might then raise the Spanish Interest, and Popish Religion, as well from the Princess Elizabeth as before, and not let a Bastard and Impostor inherit both England, and Flanders

Baker's Chronicle, the Reign of Q. Mary.

(part of his own Country) for there was no small hopes of the Princess Elizabeth, being then easie to be Converted, so that it would have been much better for Philip, could he have brought it about, for that the

the Terms would have been better on his part, by so much the more they had satisfaction of his Integrity, which before was untried, and unknown : All this meeting with a Beautiful Woman, and one apter for Children, was certainly the reason of his Non-condescension.

But to the purpose ; the reasons and necessity for such a Child at that time were these ; there being no hopes of Queen *Mary* to have Issue by reason of Infirmary, and lest Dying, the Princess *Elizabeth* should have the Crown, which would, in all probability, have hurled down their re-edify'd *Babel*.

About the very same time Q. *Mary* declared herself quick, (*viz.* in *November*) so that her Conception, Quickning, intended Delivery, &c. were corresponding with ours ; whereupon the Privy-Council sent orders, with long Preambles of Providence, care of Christ's only

Flock, throwing down of the *Protestant* Heresie, &c. Heylin of the to the Bishops (as now) to make Prayers, Processions, Reformation. &c. for the safe delivery of the Queen, and Indowment of the supposed Child ; the Physicians, Ladies of Honour, &c. justify the Queens Conception, as to all signs, with-

out so much as a doubt, or may-be of a Tympany. Foxes *Acts and* And farther, gave out her Reckoning to be out at Monuments. *June*, against which time, Rockers, Midwives, Nurses, &c. (but here ours out-did them) were provided :

And what too was the most like this (then as now) none during such pretended bigness, was admitted, on behalf of the Lady *Elizabeth*, to view her Breasts or Belly, (but as now) several were discarded and disfavoured for putting forth broad Speeches of their doubtings. Nay, there was a general and open Suspicion (as now) on the *Protestant*, and as great a pretended certainty on the *Papist* party ; so that we see the *Protestants* may be (now as then) in the right, and the *Papists* in the wrong.

Nay, the necessity of the *Papists* are greater now than then, therefore argues the more zealousness for it on that side ; the *Papists* at that time were more in number, by which a depression of their Religion being established, would be harder to be done either by Parliament or Convocation : The *Papists* then had not been so obnoxious to the Laws, and so might expect better treatment than now from the next Successor.

They hoped likewise that the Queen of *Scots* might have succeeded, so needed not such bars as now.

And should the *Protestants* have prevailed in a Successor, there was no fear of any trouble it could cause to other *Papish* Countries, as now in the case of *France*, for then the *Protestants* were weak, the dissension of the *Hollander* than not thought of.

Nor should we wonder at this going on so, when that deceived a Parliament, composed of above 500 the most Wise in the Nation, who not only upheld the Report, but enter'd into the consideration of Provisions for the Child and the Queen, with all the Zeal imaginable. So that as certain that they, *i. e.* the Parliament would not have so acted, had they had any suspicion ; so certain it is that they did such things because they had none. Therefore if such a Body was deceived,

much

much more might they expect we should singly, there being no Convention since for Wisdom and Authority to look into it; and it is but an idle quibble to cry how can so many Great personages, Privy-Councillors, Ladies of Quality, Peereffes, Physicians, &c. be deceived, when they have taken their Oaths for that, this Parliament free Action and Impartiality, was acted on as great Circumstances as these on Oath can pretend to, and yet those circumstances were all false and pretensive.

Heywoods *Q. Mary's Case* was harder to play than this, for they were obliged to keep it known from K. Philip, whereas here was no need of that, for our K. Elizabeth. assisted in it; and as K. Philip's dissent was the only thing confounded it at the upshot, so our Plot had that very assent they only wanted; our present King not only forwarded it all along, but at the pinch was more busie and industrious than the rest. So that if that wanted one stone to finish, this had it and did compleat it.

And as there was Bonfires, Entertainments, Feasts, Processions, *Te Deums*, &c. beyond-Sea now, so was there then; for a rumour being spread that she was delivered, all the Nation, and Europe rejoiced publickly; and pray what greater testimony of a Birth than hearsay had those in our days for a rejoycing: So that it was not the real Circumstances of that as well as this that caused these Actions, but lies and hearsays.

Nay, after all it fared just as now with ours, for none of that Cabal ever on their Death beds, or otherwise declared the Intrigue; by what means they raised her Belly, &c. and carried it on; so that its not being found out is no Argument against it, for that that was on all hands allowed to be a cheat, and yet the particulars never came to light, but stands just as this does; *Ergo*, this is a Cheat, notwithstanding the improbability, or rather impossibility of its ever coming to light; tho' indeed there was some difference, for there was no occasion after *Q. Mary's* death to look after that, as there is now into this; lest the King keeps him beyond Sea, and may marry him to some Potentates Daughter, who themselves or Issue, perhaps 100 years hence, when they have strength to harm us, may trump up this Title, which tho' perhaps may never be introduced, nor a Conquest thereon gained, yet we know such cases often occasion great troubles, and effusion of Blood, and a War may be brought into our own Land; for tho' the power may now be weak (as who but a petty Head will Affiance a pretended Prince) yet may in Years to come much annoy us; for what expectation could there be of the *Hollanders* Greatness 200 years since? But what is the misery of all, the Queen remaining obstinate, may, in case the Child should die in a Foreign Land, amongst her own Creatures, taking the advantage of the Indistinction of such young Children, may, I say, get another in its room, to uphold the same Implacable pretensions.

Note, that about the time the Conception was pretended, *Fathers Peters* was made a Privy-Counsellour; and as he was one of the managers at first, so now he was to carry on the Report, by giving

giving it there all the favour imaginable; to see that it was not Contested, and if it were, to satisfie their Doubts, to stir up the Lords to make Orders concerning the Queen and Child, (which had not been so proper from the King, nor could it have been put into *Arundel's*, or the rest of the Popish Lords mouths, who knew not so well as *Peters* what to insist on,) and generally to make a Voice, and use perswasions in all things that might conduce to the favour of the Cheat, the Queen, and Child; and fixing them in the certainty of her Bigness, that so they might diffuse it abroad, on the Words of Privy Councillors.

But as a *Preludium* to this, I cannot but take notice of the Processions, Pilgrimages, Offerings to *Loretto*, Washings at *St. Winifreds*, recourse to salubrious Waters, &c. and it was ever observable in the Church of *Rome*, that when any grand Villany was design'd, there has been always such Fopperies, ever more than what was usual at other times, and being so done, some great design ever hapened afterwards. Now if in the whole series of her Life, the Queen hath never done such things before, tho' the like necessity, time and opportunity; it is to be asked for what reason she went about 'um now? why not 8 or 9 years ago, or when she first came to the Crown.

The impossibility of the Queens being with Child appears from the Infirmary of the Male agent, the Disease supposed, having a Natural Designation against the Generative Faculties, as matter, &c. For all the parts, as they are then most immediately weakned, so they have the least Power to perform their natural Functions.

The abovesaid is yet more corroborated, his not having for these many Years past any by his Misses, who are more apt than the Queen, and with whom 'tis more probable he has a greater Gust: Yet perhaps it will be urged, that he has had Children and healthy, since that time, by such Women, and has likewise had some by his Queen, tho' weak and infirm: To this I answer, that the reason of his having those, and healthy too, by his Women, was effected by the sound aptness of their Constitution, which made up what the King wanted; and the Queen, as I shall shew hereafter, was utterly incapable to do this, for that she was of a very ill habit of Body as well as the King, and the Children born of them were ever weak, for indeed, 'twas impossible they should be other, but this Child is of a very good Constitution; *Ergo* it is none of their Natural Issue.

Now if any shall on the Kings having sound Children by sound Women fifteen Years ago, ask why he may not now? First it is not by those Women, and secondly, it cannot be any certainty they were of his Getting, but of some other Mens; for one that is Mercenary to the King only for Money, and not Love, will for Love or Money, lye with any one else: For indeed, how can he be certainly said to be Father to a Child whose Mother several have Bedded, for they always lay the Child to those best can keep it; Pride makes them do it, to have their Off-spring Lords and Ladies. So that if they had other Paramours they were probably more healthy, and being more healthy, the Conceptions might be more probably from their Seed.

Although

Although it should be conceded the King was apt, yet I may say, it is improbable for the Queen to have a Child by the King ; nay, that it is utterly impossible, and as there are degrees of probability, this must be owned to be of the lowest, since an intermission within the age of Child-bearing, the Husband being with her, does argue an impediment ; and therefore she cannot be allowed to be as apt as a Woman reeming Yearly ; therefore she having an impediment, it is more improbable she should have Children than another Woman.

Some of the *Popish Party* when they are drove to acknowledge the incapacity of the King, tell a blasphemous and wicked Invention (if true) that the Holy Ghost was to appear to her and make her Conceive, when she put on the pretended Smock of the Virgin Mary, which Apparition, they say, was in the likeness of the Pope's Nuncio, and so by an *Innuendo* give us to understand that he got it on the Queen ; the known strength of his Body making amends for all the failures of the King and Queen, knowing, that the Laws of the Land allow all Children born in Wedlock, the Husband not out of the Land, though never so many obvious Reasons gain-say, These People desiring an Heir, tho' with the shame and infamy of the French *Lewis*, between his Mother and a Cardinal.

Others that will not allow of this, say, the Queen is Chast, and would not do such a thing ; if she is Chast, the Kings Incapacity, and her apparent Weakness, cannot produce a Child ; if she is not Chast, and that it was by some other, and not he, it is altogether as impossible, for that no means on Earth can possibly make her bring forth so lusty a Child ; nor if it were possible can we own an Heir so gotten ; therefore their own Argument shuts them out from having gone this way : And for the reason above-said, concerning the Kings Incapacity, I appeal to their own Conscience if they think it not impossible.

But here will be urged the Childs Indispositions at *Richmond*, therefore it being weak it is more likely it was the King and Queens. To this I answer, that such Indispositions arose not from the Weakness of the Parents, but from Wind, want of the Dug, &c. incident to the best constitutions of Child and Parents ; and therefore I again urge, that had it been possible for her to have brought forth (which none can grant) it must have been Weak, Puny and Imperfect, as Children are when of weak Parents ; but this is neither Puny nor Imperfect : As such therefore it was not brought forth by the Queen, or gotten by the King.

As the Physicians laught at her being with Child, so did the King, being forced to own for Modesties sake by reason of the known Infirmities of both, that it was (as he was heard to express himself) a very odd thing ; which is a sort of an expression for all things being incredible, unusual and impossible, &c.

A Great Circumstance of the King and Queens weaknesses, and incapacities, appear from the Considerations of those three Children formerly had ; the first a Boy, weak, and short lived ; the second was a Boy too, but weaker, and shorter lived than the first ; so their Capacities declining more and more, at last it dwindled to

a puny Girl, and the next time of her usual Conception none at all; so by consequence growing every year weaker and weaker, and more incapable, their faculties must in Ten years intermission be incapable of Generation, beyond the help of Art or Nature.

'Tis again urged that she fainted, and sweat ran down her forehead; and it was observable, that these Indispositions were always in publick, when great concourses of *Protestants* were present; what can this argue to a real Child-bearing, when pride will oblige Ladies for the love of a small waist, to lace themselves so hard, that such things were very usual with 'um. The Ladies undergoing such pain, was only the pleasure of Pride, and certainly the Queens pleasure in doing it was greater, because it answered her Necessities of a seeming Conception, for what is such a forc'd pain in the case where Life itself is scarcely valued, so it might have produced but a Child, to be received as Heir Apparent.

And what is Corroborating to this, the ease she found was always by loosening her Garments; certainly, the straitness of which, had only caused these pretended Child-bearing Symptoms.

The Circumference of her Belly was neither large enough for a Child so lusty, nor naturally like other Womens; (I must confess I cannot in this point express my self, but that it was not like other Womens being really with Child, all must know that have more skill than I) the reason of the first is, because a little made Belly is easier to conceal than an extraordinary great one; and for the fashioning of it, they did, no question, their best, which best did not reach a reality, or true similitude of a real burden; I could not inquire after these things lest I should be suspected, for having some more design than every body else, by which the Author hereof might be found.

Methought she did not bend in the back, nor had she the extension and protention of the hips, as in another Lady then standing by her, whom I had no doubt to believe was otherwise. Tall Women commonly bend most in the Back, which being most perceptible, in them, like them she strove to mimic it, but it was not like a real bigness, which was more evident, by the formality and stiffness of her Legs, Neck, Head and Mouth: for that when she seemed most to bend, her Neck seemed stiff, and her Speech was hesitated, gross and drawling, like those that speak in the Throat.

But suppose her bigness appeared to be exactly proportioned, yet cannot any certainty be from that deduced; because no question Queen Mary had a bigness which seemed very real, or else it cannot be supposed the then Parliament and Privy Council would have done so much concerning it, whom we cannot in Justice think were partial, but from their pure Conviction, so well was the Cheat handled during her pretended bigness.

Aristophanes tells us of a Woman so pretended-ly brought to Bed; therefore Longings, Faintings, Bellys, and all other things may be done, so as not only to deceive all, but likewise the Husband, were he not consenting, (as in the case he relates) what then

then may be done by a Husband, a powerful party of Nurses, Ladies, &c. and in fine a whole Court, who having been Obnoxious helpt on the Cheat for self-preservation.

From the parties immediately imploy'd, as Mrs. Wilks, Delabadie, Turini, &c. busie, riged, bigotted, villanous People, having the Cunning and the Conscience for such a Wickedness; so that when People the most fit for, such a purpose are employ'd in the very uses 'tis known they are of all people the most fit for, this I say, argues the necessity they had for such sort of People, without whom they could not have done it; for if I'll have a Murther done, I must not seek for the most Conscientious, but Rogues, Banditti's and Padders; the design being judged always by the Parties.

From her pretended likelihood of Miscarrying, which is so easie at hing to pretend, it relying wholly on her own Word, and we know there must be great pretences, where there's no reality to uphold the end designed: Indeed had she miscarried it had been a sign she had been with Child then, but no proof of this pretended Prince of Wales Birth now; so that in reality she was not in a capacity to Miscarry, nor was it convenient to say she had; as to the first not being with Child, 'twas impossible she should Miscarry; and as she was not but pretended, 'twould have hindred the thing designed; and that if she had said she Miscarry'd, and had began again, such pretended Miscarriage would only have been thought that they could not have accomplished their business this time, and that they must begin some other time; and the rather, for that the Queen could not have produced any good Witness to say they saw the *Fetus* come out, for that it never was in; and I hope if such a thing had been pretended, and no more proof appeared thereof than now of the delivery, we may in all Justice conclude it a Cheat, a Pretence and Forgery; only necessary Amusements, like a Jugglers flourishing his Stick, with a *Hidius Docius*; for it is very consistent with pretended bignesses, to say they had like to Miscarry, and yet say they did not.

From the Kings going to *Chatbam* just before this pretended likelihood of Miscarriage, for no real occasion known, but the private one of designing to have her pretend a Miscarriage, and so send for him, that his riding all Night back again, and seeming troubled, thereby to amuse the People, that they might think by this his seeming trouble, that the Queen was really with Child; or if it was a Cheat that he was not in it; whereas it was the part he was to Act.

From the thing that was pretended to make this Fright, which was a meer designed lye, for one of her Maids brought word, the Duke of *Modena* her Brother, was Dead; which *News Letters*, perhaps might be Madam *Turini*, who with the King and Queen, had pack'd up this, to make the pretended reason of her fright Feazible; and indeed though there was the least occasion imaginable to think it (for neither the Ambassador who first 'tis likely should know, heard any thing of it, nor was it ever known that any brought such Word from *Italy*) yet it was the properest thing in the World to lay the lye so far off, that the reasons of the unlikeliness of the thing might not be discovered, nor how it came

came about scanded. 'Twas the pretended death of one, who except the Kings, was the most likely to fright her, and why it was not the Kings, was because there was no grounds for such Report, and the falsity of the thing would have been quickly seen through being so near, at home, and might have led us to the Design. But suppose the Ambassador had declared it, and that the Duke was seemingly ill, the Ambassador was a Creature, and so was his Master who could easily Confederatè to bring such a Rumour about, Nay, supposing it was not Madam *Turini*, *Powis*, nor none of the Confederates, yet it might be first canted about by them, and so come through many hands at last to the Queen, by a Protestant, unconcerned in the Design; just as Rogues drop feigned Letters, that they may gain Credit from the Reputation of him that takes 'um up, who cannot be suspected, for had the Rogue himself been seen to do it, we could suspect nothing but Roguery.

That her only saying she had Milk, and not shewing it, is the most notorious sign of its being all a Cheat imaginable, for that it is agreeable to a Cheat, to say they have that which they have not. As suppose a Man is Condemned to be hang'd, he Pleads his Pardon, they desire to see it, he says he hath it about him, but will neither shew it himself, nor will let others search, and will rather be Condemned and Hanged than shew it, shall it not therefore be presum'd he's a Lier; for would not he, if he had it, produce it to save his Life? Were such things suffered, it were the very nearest way to have none hanged at all, since all would plead such a Pardon, and the Price of saving their Necks would only be to say, I have such a thing, which in truth I have not. So in the Queens Case, shall it ever be presum'd she had Milk, only because she said so, and never condescended to shew it; can her Word only in this case, be any more valued than such a Criminals: Had she not by shewing this Milk, saved the Crown, its Rights, and all to the Child? And can it ever be thought she would lose those Rights belonging to her Son, rather than give such easie Evidence, as might have been the great means of securing him in 'um, had it not only saved the Rights to her Child, but took off the Calumnies laid against her? Certainly, if one may be supposed, in such a case to have Milk, because ones self says so, and consequently to have a Child in the Belly, 'tis one of the easiest things in the World to pervert, and put by all Right most Births can pretend to.

Therefore the Premises are Conclusive of this Point, that it was only a pretence, and could not shew it, because she had it not.

Had there been Milk, Interest so obliged her to discover it, that certainly her Cloaths would have been turned down to all persons, it being the greatest pleasure imaginable to take off abules when wronged, all Persons of different Principles being willing to expose the Lies and Forgeries of the other, and the Queen being so used, would certainly have defended herself, Husband, and Parties Honesty, which to do, would not only have been pleasure and satisfaction, but the greatest advantage of Worldly Interest to herself, Husband, and Religion she is so zealous to restore.

Besides,

Besides, if she had Milk before the Birth, 'tis unusual; if after, there is neither Pretence, Proof, nor Hear-say, although the Nation was more dissatisfied after the Delivery than before. Indeed, had the Birth been so, as to evince all suspicion, then it had been needless to speak of the Milk, but when the suspicion continued, not to take off that which you desired might cease, when you pretend you have that, that would do it, was certainly because you had not really what you pretended; did you desire the suspicion should continue, or desire it to cease? If to continue, it is utterly Absurd, if to cease, why did you not use the means, since the deferring it brought on a farther Infamy?

The having Milk being almost as satisfactory as the Delivery, why was not the Princess *Ann* shewed it before she went to the Bath; since the Queen knew not whether the Princes might ever return again, (as in the case of Death,) the Queen might be suddenly brought to Bed e'er she could come: If the Milk had been shewn to the Princess *Ann*, her Death-bed Confession had made much for the Childs Title, as far as the certainty of the Queens really having Milk would go. And tho' the Princess had missed (as she did) of being there, the certainty of the Queen's having Milk was a great Sign she had been Pregnant, and therefore 'twas more probable that this was the Child of her Body, than when any pretends to have Milk and will not shew it, (tho' the Interest was to herself and not Princess *Ann*) nor acquit herself of the Slander she desires to be acquitted of; which remaining, would redound much to her Dishonour and Prejudice.

Indeed some Bigotted Papists talk of Milk, and seeing Milk; and no body in such Cases should offer to speak unless they saw the Milk, and were satisfied, and could give as good Reasons for such satisfaction as can reasonably be desired; but instead thereof they prate so foolishly intricate, especially about the Milk, not one of them giving so much as a Pertinent, or plainly demonstrated Reason of this Question of seeing the Milk drop out; but on the contrary shew that they nor any else did see the Milk, in a way that any Man can be concluded, by their expressing themselves not to except against the Falstity; but admitting the genuine Sense of their Words, and that they did see the Matters they pretend to have seen, yet, I say, all their Tattle is of no validity, (as seeing her Smock wet, and so forth) but when they come to be grasp'd and consider'd, are no manner of Satisfaction, as shall be shewn in my Examen of the Depositions.

No Woman ever draw'd, no Doctor or other ever saw her Breast, or considered on her Milk, nor were any things prescribed by the Doctors concerning her Breast, which to be sure was omitted, lest on the Queens saying she wanted something for her Breast, which were in a Bad state, the Doctors should desire to see 'um e'er they prescribed.

If they desire either to satisfy the World that she had Milk, knowing the World excepted against it, or desired a Child, and were minded the Child should thrive and live, she ought to have kept her Milk running (if she had it) after the Delivery to answer the Exceptions, and as the Childs Life was perhaps desired as much as any

Besides,

any Childs ever in the World, they ought to have taken care to preserve and bring it up, by a way the most certain so to do, which was to let it suck.

If it shall be answered, that the Queen had no Milk after the Delivery, (if really with Child) I offer that 'tis false, and inconsistent; for that lean Women have it most, and if they have Milk before Delivery, 'tis a sign they have it plentifully afterwards; if she had it not plentifully after, because she had it not before, then all the pretences of having it before fall, and shew there is a design, where some pretend to have that which they have not.

If it shall be objected, that she would not suckle it because of the trouble, 'tis very inconsistent with the great desire she had for a Child, that she should Boggle at so small a trouble, to continue it alive, when, could it be admitted Heir as then they expected, she would have laid down her Life.

It cannot be excused by saying the Queen was weak, for neither any apparent sign of weakness was on her after the pretended Delivery, nor was it indeed possible she should be weak after such easie Labour, not having since gotten Cold, as was known or ever heard of.

There always is some apparent Reason and great Consideration had, whether a Child should be brought up by hand or no, it being an unnatural way, and cannot but on great Circumstances be done. But of any circumstances or reasons for so doing in this case, besides what I have before alledged, no Man can find the most weak or sophistical pretence.

That altho' it was for the Queens own Interest, her Childs, the whole *Roman* Religion thro'out *Europe*, and every individual professor thereof, to shew her Breasts, not only for the reality of Milk being there, but that skilful Women might be satisfied whether there was any Conception or real bigness, by the fashion of the Duggs, which the Princess of *Denmark*, or some Deputed (as I am credibly inform'd) desired to see; the refusal of which, cannot be rendred otherwise than that the Queen would have thereby been betray'd, had she offered her Breasts to inspection; and as I have urged Interest all alone for her shewing them, had she been with Child; so Interest is such a true test of most matters, that she here does stick to it, and out of Interest will not shew 'em, because the Cheat might go on.

Well then, the whole business of the Milk stands thus: It is by them pretended, that about Two and Twenty Weeks after Conception, she had Milk, which by the way is very unusual; yet in all that time, did ever any pretend that they saw it? 'Twas never drawn by any Woman, young Puppy, or otherwise; no Medicaments were used about it, either before or after the pretended Delivery; nor did any Protestant (though requiring so to do) or other conscientious body ever see it, nor was Milk shewn to any Papist or other, so that there can be any certainty inferred that such Milk was the Queens, nor was this Milk, (which is implied to be of Quantity by her being a lean Woman, and that she had much before the birth, and so consequently had much after) ever given to the Child; nor was it offer'd the Nipple, to try whether it would take it, though

so proper for its Nourishment; it was never dryed, either by any natural cause, nor by any Medicament prescrib'd or made, on the Doctors, or any else Inspection thereof; it came, continued, and went away none seeing it, or using means to dry it up. And the Child was brought up by hand, without the Doctors, or any others Advice on the Milk that was bad, which ought always to be consider'd in the giving, or not giving it, altho' the Child apparently wanted the Nipple, and was much Indisposed for the not having it. All these are such evident marks of only pretensive Milk, that no excuse can be offered in Palliation.

The same Circumstances of an Imposture, may be offered concerning her Belly, which was never shewn to, nor suffered to be felt by any Protestant Lady; nor was there any thing done to take off the Suspicion from the People, and the great Scandal on her self, which no Body can say she desired, for that she and the King might have dyed before they could have cleared the Arguments, of which this Counterfeit Belly was one; and can it be thought that she purposely desired to leave her Child in the Trouble and Confusion of an obscure Title? Can it be thought she loved Scandal and Reproach? If not, and pleaded her Innocency, why did she not demonstrate it? For when a business is in suspense between Parties, and the one pretends he can shew that which will confute the other, and doth not shew it, tho' oblig'd thereto by Self-interest, and the Judgment still of being thought an Imposture worse than before, such a step (I say) only of Pretensions, and no Proof, is the greatest of Evidence against them, when they were thereto required, to see her Belly, which no question she would have done, not only to such particular Parties, but to all modest and creditable Women; there not only being a sort of pleasure in proving ones self innocent, and in this case the greatest Gain on the one hand, but a Disappointment on the other, were not the Scandal taken off; so that all might be satisfied it was the right Heir, which without good and plain satisfaction, none can expect we should admit of.

For that her Nurse, Mrs. *Delabadie*, was, as I hear, one who had never been about her before; one of whose skill she was not assured; and therefore to commit herself and Child wholly to the management of a sly, bigotted, ill-reputed Woman, shews that she had not so much need of Skill as Roguery: Now altho' she was of such a Character, and the Queen had known her before, some plausible pretence might have been made, (as the Queen's trying her Skill and Care,) but to pick such a Party out, in pursuance of the Cheat they were charged with to be about, and which slander could have no better been taken off, than by employing for her Nurses honestly reputed Women, whose Testimony would have more been believed in behalf of the Child's Title: None but an ill Woman is either fit to manage, or will uphold Roguery by Oaths; but this is an ill Woman, *Ergo* she was fittest for Roguery, and her Oath not to be relied on.

Query, whether the Queen never had more than one Nurse: Or if an ordinary Cittizen's Wife is not usually better provided?

C

Because

Because there was no more Nurses provided than Mrs. *Delabadie*, a thing never known, but very agreeable to a private design; for this design was only to be trusted to few, (the only danger was of having many concern'd, which was absolutely necessary to be avoided) for Nurses, as 'tis usual, and especially in a Queens case, are about the Child-bearing Woman long before-hand, and so could not be kept from seeing those things all the time of bigness, and at the time of delivery, which in this design were not fit to be trusted to 'um, it being the hardest thing to manage a Cheat by numbers, so as to keep it for ever secret; whereas a Juggle between two may be kept in 1000 ways, two are poisoned soonest, two by natural Lives may be sooner in their Graves than four; there's a hundred such conveniences in a small number, which cannot be kept private by many.

But here it will be objected, if a great many Nurses are less suspicious, then the Queen might have had 'um, and not call'd 'um till all had been over: To which I reply first, if they had been hired, and not imployed before or at the delivery, to what purpose were they hired, and sure people being hired and not employed, but designedly kept out of the way, whereby they may not see that which must only take off the suspicion, would have made the suspicion much more: But secondly, the Nurses so hired, and not being suffered to be about the Queen during her bigness, nor near the Chamber at her Labour as is usual, would have made them greatly suspect foul play, which being known and witnessed by them, would make much against 'um; nay, had they been never so little time before (about her) though the Queens Instruments designed to decoy them away at the Labour in that time, I say, they must have seen the forgery of her Belly, which they being numbers, could not have concealed; and such an Item by the Queens Nurses, had made folks been more bold to watch their waters, at the Delivery, in as much as this could give them the more certainty to their designed looking after it; as this did of Mrs. *Delabadies* being away so near the Labour, (which was necessary too, as I shall shew in her Deposition, notwithstanding her being a party.)

Query, whether she did not use to provide a wet Nurse at her other Deliveries: And whether all Persons of Quality, though they resolv'd to give Suck themselves, do, notwithstanding such resolution, provide a wet Nurse, lest the Child would not take the Breast, or that such Mother may be ill, or have a sore Breast.

There were no Men Midwives order'd to be ready to attend the Queen, if occasion should be, which though she might not have necessity for, yet they are often used; and sure a Queen ought to have as great a Preparation of what is within a possibility of being wanted, as of what certainly will be; but the reason was, lest they should visit the Queen before the Labour, and so discover the proportions of her Belly, or be near Court, and at the noise of the Labour come to it, who could not be so easily cheated as other Men, nay, as Women, for being Doctors, they could have distinguish'd the very Cries, whether true or Counterfeit.

Query,

Query, whether she did not use, at her three former Deliveries, to have such Men in readiness? whether others of Quality do not the like? and whether it is not very convenient for all Women, but more especially, for the help of a Queen, and welfare of an Empire; Heir, so much by the Parents desired?

Her Doctors of Physick were not order'd to attend against the second reckoning; and this was omitted, lest they should be so diligent as to follow the Court, and be too near about her, they liv'd so far off, that of four or five, but one was so near as to be there till after the pretended Delivery.

And though their Majesties respective Doctors have Chambers appointed about their Lodgings, at all their Courts, and at all times, whether occasion or none, and do attend such Chambers; yet was this so carried on, that her Doctors attended not, as usually at such Chambers, though the occasion was so great.

Nor in fine, was there any one more about her, or concern'd, than Mrs. *Delabadie* and *Wilkes*; nor did the Midwife lodge at Court, as is usual, and had been proper, considering there was but she and another provided for the Queen, one being away on no pretended reason, and the other on a pretence of illness; the reasons of which designed absence, I shall consider in my Examen of Mrs. *Delabadies* Deposition.

The Queen ought by the very Obligations of her own Interest, that no Objection might have been against the birth, to have given notice of the House and Room she intended to lie in, that the Princess, or any for her, might have search'd such Room, and be satisfied there was no false Doors, Traps, or other Conveniences for Juggling; or if there were, to nail them up; which is not a whimsey and expedient of my own, but a written Law, an Edict founded on great Reason and Justice, and which being the Law of Reason, ought to have been done here, (it being allow'd of in such Cases for a most convenient Direction;) as nailing up such Doors, and suspicious Places, not suffering any more than one Door (whereas here was three or four) to keep a guard at that Door, for so many days before the Delivery, &c. but instead of this, the House was designedly concealed till within a few hours of her coming; the Princess 100 miles off, self-interest oblig'd the Queen to do this on their parts; and if the Princess had not search'd nor nail'd up the Doors, it had been to her own peril and the Child's Title ne'er the obscurer; and such a Test all true Births will bear, but this would not.

There was so much stress laid on this Law, that notwithstanding the Heir had before search'd such Woman's Belly, (which was so far from being ask'd to be done by the Queen, that she denied it; altho' it was her own Interest to desire others to view it.) I say, though the Heir had before search'd her Belly, and was satisfied of her being pregnant, yet the Law and Reason provided this, after Circumspection, lest bringing a dead Child, she should change it for a Living; or, being a living Girl, might be changed for a Boy. Nay, the Law order'd that the Heir, or those by him deputed, might

keep her from going, and not suffer her to go out of their sights, for so many days before the expected Delivery, and to search all that should come near her, during that time, or at the Labour.

Now these Orders being made, and obliging People to follow them, not only for the Interest and Reason, but for the Penalty, forcing all, that were pregnant of that, which might displant another, to use the Orders, or else to be suppos'd an Imposture, taking it for granted, that if such Orders were not used, there was, and might be Cheating, but if used, it was presumed they could not do it; there being in that Law contained, all that the Wit of Man can devise against it. But these things were neither followed, nor was there an innocent negligence, but a combined endeavour to prevent any insight, as Law, Reason, and their own Interest required.

Now if the Law cannot presume there was an Heir truly born, unless such Directions were followed, much less shall this be presumed which wilfully omitted them; but it had not the usual, plain and simple Circumstances, attending the most common Births, where no Rights is contested, but instead thereof, a whole train of Pretexts and Inconsistencies.

So that resolving not to let any know where she intended to Lie-in, sometimes it was given out she intended for *Windsor*, *News Letters*. anon *St. James's*, then *Richmond*, and the next Day *Windsor* again, lest People very curious, or imploy'd

should plant themselves in some Apartment to observe, and no question but some did design it, both for their own Satisfaction, and an expected Reward, could they discover any thing; for as there must be a great many steps to such a Cheat, such steps must needs have been discried by Persons conveniently and privately plac'd about the Court, in or near the very Chamber she intended to be in, or if they could not plant themselves there unseen, yet to observe by frequently being about those Lodgings, which might have been well performed by any belonging to the Household or Bed-chamber, which certainly some honest body design'd, but were by the various reports prevented.

And here, perhaps, it may be objected, that the time from setting up the Bed was sufficient for making approaches to observe: To this I offer, that tho' such Parties might move by the Principles of mistrust, yet they ne'er thought she would have done so contrary to all likelihood of the thing she was to pretend; a whole Month before her Reckoning! a Bed set up but one Day! and she at the Place not 12 Hours with nothing provided! not so much as Linnen, Nurse, nor Midwife about her; it not being 12 Hours, and that in the time of rest, between which and Eight the next Morning it could not be known she was gone there; and after that there was so little time to plant, observe, or consider how to make Approaches, that it was altogether impossible. Besides, that their Business was so laid, that before her being in, or near her Labour the Child was brought into the very Bed, no body but S——d present, so that none could have done any thing towards the Discovery, for who thought at Eight her Labour would begin at half an Hour after? especially those who had not yet heard such pretended Labour: And had this been a true Delivery,

Delivery, it is very improbable she would have lain in at *St. James's* because all her other Children born there died ; which Women (being commonly superstitious) would have taken from the fatality of the Place ; so as *Windſor* was the moſt convenient had it been a true Birth, but the moſt inconvenient for an Impoſture ; and *St. James's* was the moſt inconvenient for the firſt, but the moſt convenient perhaps of any Court in the whole World, by reaſon of the adjoining Convents ſituation, for the other.

The going to the Place of her Lying-in, being the alarm for all concerned to gather about, had ſhe given ſuch a long notice as her going from hence to *Windſor*, which conſequently muſt have done her harm, inſomuch as it was their Intereſt to keep thoſe approaches to her Delivery as cloſe as poſſible ; and indeed this was the only courſe, for the Park-gates being lock'd and all quiet, 'twas no more than coming down the Stairs from the Gallery, croſs a Garden as it were to another apartment of the ſame Court, and the Alarm they ſo much dreaded never ſtarted.

So that it being neceſſary for the Queen not to go from *White-hall*, to *St. James's* till a few Hours before, had it been at any other Court further off, the notice of the right Woman's being in Labour, could not conveniently have been brought to the Queen, and the Queen to run there ſoon enough to have the Child ſeem new born ; but here the Queen might have Word brought of the Labour, ſlip away, and catch it reeking warm from the Womb, and ſo no time loſt about keeping the Child quiet by its Navel-string.

And it was not convenient for the Queen to Lie-in at *White-hall*, becauſe a Woman could not poſſibly have been privately Delivered there, by reaſon of the Multitude and Concourse of People in all the Rooms, thro' which the Child muſt have been brought to the Queen's Chamber.

But at *St. James's* there was a Convent adjoining, where a Woman might be kept all the time of her Bigneſs, or come into it any Evening and none perceive, as is evident from its ſituation ; here a Woman might cry out as loud as ſhe would in Labour, and have all the help from this very Mrs. *Wilks* and *Delabadie*, who might likewiſe be concealed, it being a large Place within Walls and Cloyſters, out of all hearing, or any intercourſe of People to diſturb them.

And as this Convent was certainly a moſt convenient and private Place for the true Mother's Delivery, ſo I appeal to all Perſons that know the Rooms, Stairs and Paſſages, belonging to the Convent and Palace, whether there are not two ſeveral direct and commodious ways, whereby the Child ſo Born, may be privately conveyed from the ſaid Convent (it not being above three Rods) to the Queen's Bed-chamber : Theſe Ways or Paſſages, are ſo plain, ſo direct, and without the leaſt Intricacies or Windings, that the moſt hardned cannot deny or except againſt, on the leaſt pretence of Publickneſs or Inconveniency, but as if they had been made on purpoſe. And which is evidently demonſtrated by a Map or Survey of the Convent and Palace annexed to the Book, for the Satisfaction of thoſe who have not the Opportunity to go to *St. James's* to view the Premises.

And

And it must be supposed that there was several Women with Child at the same time, looking within few Days of one another ; so that had the Queen spoke of her own pretended Reckoning, corresponding to the first Woman's Reckoning, and at the upshot it had proved a Girl, they must have stayed for the next, and the Ladies, Princess, and Nobility would have remained about her, notwithstanding she came not just then, and would not have gone away ; so that tho' the next might be a Boy, yet she could not so well bring her Matters about, they being in the way.

Nay, although this Discourse between *S — b* and her is trump up now, we never heard of it during her being with Child ; for had she but said she had had the least expectance of that tenth of *June*, she had then been more narrowly watched about that time.

Considering the whole Nobility of *Ireland* intended to be here, as well as the Countess of *T — l*, for what one reason made her be here at the Labour in *June*, and they prepared but *News Letters*, against that in *July* ; what reason I say can it be, but that she being one of the Confederacy, had other private notice than what the other Nobility had, who knew not the Juggle ; this yet appears plainer, for that this Lady *T — l* was heard to say she should be back in *July* ; which must be certainly on the account of knowing the Queen would come sooner ; and if she had stayed as long after the 15th of *July* as after the 10th of *June*, it is very improbable she would have said thus : But this was in a Discourse far from the concerns of the P. of *W*. which was the reason she so unwarily threw it out.

And it appears throughout the whole, that all well-wishers to the Cheat were by private designs in and about the Town and Court, on purpose to be called to make their appearance for witnesses ; and all others, not friends to such designs, were so decoy'd, that there was not so much as one party on whose testimony we can reasonably be expected to rely ; so that by the total partiality of the Choice, there appeared more design than chance.

The Bishops being put in the Tower, is generally thought, was then against the Kings Interest, but I offer that it probably would have made for his Interest, for the thing was so evidently prejudicial, had he not had a private Interest to ballance such certain prejudice, that he could never have stumbled over such an apparent block, and what was this private Interest but by their being out of the way, as I shall shew, he and the Confederates were the better able to bring this Cheat about ; and consequently, get more to his Cause by the Birth of a Son, than he could lose by the hatred and prejudice he incurred from so Imprisoning the Bishops.

And this was done that they might amuse and confound all such who they thought would Eye them, so as to tell again what they had observed. The King offered to the Bishops a thing he knew they would not (nor could they by Law or Conscience) concede to, which was to read the Declaration, resolving to make the refusal Imprisonment, tho' such a harsh judgment was never before desig'd for so small a Crime ; which strange Revolution, he supposed would so distract

distract all those that designed to watch the Queen, for those so designing, must consequently be friends to the Protestant Religion, and so were desirous of finding out this Cheat. Thus, I say, they designedly confounded all the watchful, whose thoughts being so taken up with that unexpected act, and little thinking the Queen would pretend to come so long before her reckoning, and so soon after her going to St. James's, that before they could recollect themselves from the Consternation, the Child was popt on them.

A further advantage by putting those Bishops up, was that they hindered them from being present, on whom we so much relied on; for they being all Courtiers and Favourites, it could not be supposed but some of them would have been there by Chance, or would have come on notice of some honest Gentleman, who no question would have called them without the Kings leave.

And they knew these honest Bishops, had they by chance or notice been in the Chamber, would not have been satisfied with what these others have been, but boldly ask'd to see more than they designed to let them, and had such a certainty of it, in which no *deceptio visus* could possibly be couch'd.

'Tis urged, that on giving a small Recognizance, they might have been free, and so being *stau quo*, might have been at the Labour: To this I answer, that this reason did not occur till after the delivery; for had they before seen this design, they would have prevented by giving that Recognizance, which for many reasons excepting this case they ought not to have done; for they little thought the Queen would have come so soon, but expected to be out before the 15th of July to attend.

Tho' there had been obstinacy in the case, and that they wilfully went to the Tower, and the design of sending them was purely in pursuit of his Declaration, and not about the Brth; I say here (notwithstanding their being in the Tower) he might, if he had desired as he ought, to have had 'em to be present at the Labour, have sent for 'em up under a strong Guard, and so let them return.

The King cannot pretend that he was ignorant what Men and Women we would rely on; if he did not know, he ought to have enquired whom we would chuse for our Trustees; if he did know we had chose them, he knew those were the Bishops, and to imprison them was the designed way not to let us have 'em.

Had we chose Partial violent Men, he might have excepted; but these Men he knew were without any Spot or Blemish of designed Falshood, and who he was satisfied would have represented the truth to the people, had it been the Queens Child, and by their words we would have been concluded.

It cannot be objected that 'twas immodest, being Males, because there were younger Men, and of looser Characters.

Had the Queen been really with Child, no question but we should have had the Princess of Orange and Denmark vehemently urged to be there, all the time of her bigneis.

Note: Although the Princess of Orange was not sent for till June, the Dutches of Portsmouth was sent for in April, and came in May.

They

They cannot pretend that they deferred asking her by reason of bad weather, for our Summer had been long begun, and their Summer so long, that it was almost over, so that the Seas were free from the Storms of Winter on either side.

The Princes of *Orange* was the party the Law particularly directed should have had notice of the Queens bigness, when she intended to lie in and where, not by hearsay, but by notice from the King; and whom it was their Interest to have present, for the many inconveniences that would otherwise accrue. And as there cannot be one reason found, why the Princes of *Orange* was not there, so there cannot be any offered, why the Princess *Ann*, (in a manner Heir Apparent) had not the Liberty to view her Belly, &c. If not for her own sake, yet as deputed by her Sister, but more wonder that she was not publicly desired to be at the Delivery. First being one, as it were, of their Household and Family, they might do it by word of mouth, and so the failures of an Ambassador cannot be urged. Secondly the Princess *Ann*, for herself, Sisters, Religions and Truths sake, had a mind to be there; and she cannot be said to have slighted the least motion of such a Request from the King, but rather sought all means to inspect the Queen when with Child, and be at the Delivery. Thirdly, the People desired her to be there, whom I suppose she would not disoblige. Fourthly, had the King desired it, she was ever so Dutiful, as she would now have Obeyed in so Just a Request; and which the King ought to have made. But on the contrary, all unfair and circumventing Ways, were tried to hinder their lawful Inspections, tho' highly for the Kings Interest, had it been a true Birth; but they would have certainly been found out in a Cheat, had such search been, and therefore 'twas his Interest to evade.

But mind, altho' there was an Ambassador continually residing, she was not Invited till almost the 10th of *June*, so late, that they knew she made never so much haste, nay, come away without any preparation of Equipage; nay, had she come Post, the Child would be Born.

She ought to have had longer than a months notice, to consider of going, preparing an Equipage suitable for one so long out of the Land, and Heir Apparent, and to honour the Prince of *Orange*; now lest the first Woman who was to come, and did, about the 10th of *June*, as I hinted before, should have a Girl or dead Child, and that the Queen should be forced to stay till the next Womans Crying out, yet could not the Princess have been here, neither in so short a time as the 15th of *June*, before which day, no question all the Women expected and consequently, the Queen must before then pretend to be Delivered.

It is urged, that being a case concerning the Princesses Right, why came she not without sending? To this I answer, that they ought for their own Interest to have sought her coming; and that it had been for many obvious reasons improper for her to come without inviting.

Notice ought to have been given that the Queen did depend on her being in *England*, long before the 10th of *June*, that all who did desire to come, or send Inspectors, might be satisfied; first, because the first reckoning must give her more certain signs 'twas the true one, and for that People that are uncertain of their reckoning, ought to have all provided against the first; and this ought to have been one of the provisions, being much to their Interest.

It was their Interest more than ours to have her there, we had an Heir against whom none could except, if they brought one to disseize her, they ought to have prov'd their Title as the Law requires; and the Princess *Ann* would have been absolutely a good concluding Evidence, in whose word the people had rested satisfied. She is a just Woman, and would not have prevarricated out of Affection to the Princess of *Orange* her Sister. She would not have represented it to be a true Birth, had it not in relation to her self, for the Princess having no Children nor like, 'twas impossible she would harm her own probability of Succession.

She had had Children, and the People could not think she could be cheated by Ignorance in such businesses.

And she had saved the trouble of mens being there, and by that means they had had the liberty to make the Birth more publick, because in the publickness consisted their Interest. The Kings introducing men was only to make a fair pretence of covering her, and not letting the Women see what is usual in true Births. Notwithstanding knowing the Princess was not there, and allowing she could not be there; it ought to have been publick to extremity, but on the contrary it was private to a nicety.

That altho' it may be urged, that the King knowing the truth of the matter, would not trouble himself to seek after Witnesses, folks in the right being negligent, and knowing the truth will bear out it self.

Yet there is a difference between a negligence or non-endeavouring to publish, and a wilful and designed acting to keep it as private as was convenient for such a design.

But the Queen disdainfully laugh'd at and slighted these things, which all wise people saw were absolutely necessary: So that her disdain of her Belly's being tryed by witnesses then, was but a pretended height of Innocence that she would have thought that she knew her self so clear of the thing she was charged with, that she scorned to submit to the touchstone or scrutiny; and her crying now is only to shew a pretended desire of what can never be recalled; and in fine, both so well timed to their purpose, that they have no other face but design, like a young Heir or Widow, who perhaps had designedly contributed to the Death of the Person they seem to grieve for; but were not Miracles ceas'd, would keep their eyes dry at all adventures, lest some out of pity should restore what they seem to grieve for.

Did they leave out such Protestant Witnesses from being called to be present at the Delivery, because they were afraid such Protestants would deny they saw such Child born of the Queen, notwithstanding they really had? No sure, for that no sincere Protestant, according to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, and of good Life, (many of which might have been found) can be thought would be guilty of such a wilful denial

t is on no account whatsoever allowable by their rules, but is notoriously allowable by the Popish Priests and Doctors in these very cases; for which I can alledge, if it were needful, a great many Authorities from their own Writings.

Her Reckoning, according to her own account given after the Birth, has so much of sliight pretence, that I cannot imagine what made 'em so faulting; for it was not with the Queen as usually with other Women, since her Husband lay with her within such a time but twice, and she stands by it the Conception was one of those times: Whereas other Women bedding their Husbands every night, cannot, nay it is almost impossible they should tell which night in the Week it was; but certainly had they lain but two Nights, in such a space of time, above a month being between those Nights, and it afterwards, *viz.* at the Delivery, appeared it was the first night was the Conception, and not the second; here, I say, the Woman must have had more certain motions during the time of her Bigness to make her satisfied the first Night was the Conception, than that the second was, inasmuch as the motions of a real Conception gives all along more certain and satisfactory signs, than that which afterwards proved false; for a Month makes a great difference in such things; and the Queen having bore several Children before, cannot be supposed to misunderstand her condition so much as to be ignorant of her Conception and coming.

Nay further, add to her own skill, the advice of the Doctors, with whom she often discoursed the matter: But indeed she gave so confused and uncertain an account, now 'twas one time, to which she her self brought objections; then ~~'twas another~~ time, and that likewise had its objections: Tho' in fine her Doctor supposed the first time to be the Conception, for it seems this Woman who had this Boy the Queen resolved first to try, and if that failed, make use of another Reckoning: And the Pallat-bed's being unprepared, was that she might be delivered in the great Bed, more fit for their purpose. This excused the resolution in what house she was to be delivered; being delayed so long and so suddenly assumed, that Princess Ann could not possibly have had notice, and came up in the time between that and the Labour.

On this pretence was the very Childbed-linnen deferred, and not brought by the maker thereof till after the Birth, notwithstanding the Queen must of necessity have more certain Emotions of the first, and consequently, expected to come about the 10th of *June*, all Women doubtful of their Reckoning, do provide against their very first Expectation, for fear of any fright or accident; and though they come commonly a few days before, yet are reckoned to go out their full time too, a few days making no difference; yet was not this Linnen so much as provided, or ordered to come home, till long after such expectation, which is so gross a design, as none sure can attempt an excuse for it.

Had

Had she indeed mistook her reckoning, so as she had gone longer, it had lookt less of design, because then all Parties after notice of such expected time, would have waited about Court, and been ready in her Chamber on the first notice, and then the Confederates could not have done it; but this is so corresponding with the rest, that it makes a great figure in this muster of presumptions against them.

There was an obvious danger in neglects, had she been really with Child, and therefore she would have been very considerate, fear would have made her earnest to provide against such dangers, but when there is only a pretensive expected danger, and the providing preparations against them would do the design harm, by drawing people about, thinking she was near her time; here, I say, such necessary preparations were purposely neglected, for she knew she could receive no bodily harm, or real detriment, as usually attends Deliveries by neglects.

All other steps being Suspicious, this of her coming in the day time, does somewhat confirm it; for if it be owned that she was not with Child; and that Women really with Child generally come in the Night, then the Queen being but pretendedly with Child, could not have the Child, till after the true Woman had really brought it forth.

And whereas the Births of Persons are properly proveable a *Principio*, by seeing the Child come out of the Womb; this is, what by their strange and close actings, render'd utterly incapable of any proof that way, and must be referred proved a *posteriori*, that is, lying in a Month, seeing the Child took out of a Bed, &c. Which are all such irregular, inconsistent, impossible, and frivolous actions to prove a real Birth, that they absolutely, as we shall shew, prove the contrary.

Now when I talk of a Publick acting, I don't mean that they should have exposed her Majesty in the presence of dull doltish Teagues, Villanous Jesuits, and Bigotted flattering Courtiers; but a select Company of grave, Wise, and just Persons, this being too for their own interest, all Causes going the better for the prudence and honesty of its Witnesses; would not the Princess of *Denmark* been better believed than the Marchioness of *P----*, a *Sandcroft* than a *J----*, &c. This had hindred the Calumnies of the obstinate, and that medly of Folly and beastliness, that is corrosive to all Chast Earls.

Nor do I mean that all parties whatsoever that desired it might come in, for in this case those that could be the most boisterous and rude should have filled up the Chamber before any Lords could come, or forc'd 'em out had they been there before; therefore there ought to have been a selection, and if so, Religion, Truth, Repute, and Honesty, was far greater to be sought, and was a better accomplishment than Titles of Honour without.

Now he made a Choice, but of what? the wilfully blind, the Partial, the timorous, &c. Now would not any Thief, if had minded to rob, and might choofe the house he would take from, would he not choofe to pilfer from before the blind, or the weak and timorous? Such was the parties, such the occasion, such the choice.

It is the Custom of *England*, that if a woman be seized in Fee simple, and marry, the husband shall have such Lands for life, and after her death, if he ever had a Child born of her now alive, or being born was heard to cry: Now can it be supposed but she being with Child, that the husband will not look after her, and see all things are prepared, that she may not endanger herself, and consequently the Child, and so he lose the Estate; nor must he have her brought to Bed privately, for the Child may only live to cry, which how will he prove, but by providing a great many Witnesses, and those too, *bonos & legales*, for shall the Wifes word, or only a profligate Midwife, and that too, perhaps, against several hundred Circumstances be taken?

Suppose the *French King* were a Protestant, and the *Dauphin* yet to be born, who must put by the Duke of *Orleance*, a great Papist? Ought the *French King* to call only *Protestants*, or those leaning that way, to the Delivery? No sure, for they are disabled there, as much as *Papists* here, and so not being proper Witnesses, could not have been believed.

Well then, if such caution must have been used, although the Duke of *Orleance*, nor any other, had not in the least doubted the *French Queens* being with Child, and were inwardly satisfied thereof, what greater caution ought there to have been used by our King and Queen, who were positively charged, during the bigness, and before the Delivery, with evil Designs?

All that can be alledged against the Queens having all *Protestants* in the Room, is, that such as help'd might have done the Child harm, and they, as well as those that lookt on, might both joyn and swear they saw none. This is a vain Supposition; for first, they might have had *Papists* about her, letting but *Protestants* look on, since the truth was as perceptible by looking on, assistance not conducing to satisfie them more, or making people ever the better Witnesses. Secondly, 'Tis so unreasonable an objection, that so many good people should have joyned in a denial of truth, that we do not alledge it against these ill men and *Papists*; I hope, if they will say good *Protestants* would deny the Truth, we may in this Case say ill *Papists* uphold a Lie. All I have against them is, that they have out of fear and partiality hid their Sentiments; for if a Juggler calls me to say, Did you see me pull a Knife out of my Mouth? Here if I say yes, for fear of his displeasure, I do not give my Sentiments that it was not real; and though what I say is Evidence to one knowing the matters, *viz.* he seemed to aver it, as Jugglers do such things; yet my partiality, fear, and desire,

of having truth concealed, is little better than having falsely sworn : And a *Papist* being disabled by our Laws, for being a Juror in a Cause of two Groats, his disability in this Case must be greater.

Suppose there could be no more alledged than heedlessness, from the Kings not having such as the Realm could depend on, and by Law capacitated. First, it is strange as he should be so unnatural, as to let his Child be hereafter involv'd in the trouble of an obscure Title. And secondly, 'tis a Crime of the highest nature, wilfully to bring a Civil War on the Country, after whose welfare he was so immediately obliged to seek.

'Tis frequent to Murder the next Heir for Ambition, but to do it for Religion and Godliness, to break all the ties of Law and Nature, certainly the Doctrines that allow such a thing, do likewise pardon the breaches they go through to act it, and make the Wickedness meritorious; that what they call good may come thereof.

If to attain such a height is then the perfection of their Religion, certainly it is worse than Atheism, and must not only eradicate the very principles of Love and Nature (which the Atheists have in Extraordinary measures) but in owning a God, hurl him down to mingle among the fallen Angels, as one pleased with such monstrous Impieties.

They were charged before the Child was born with Cheating; Not Guilty is by them Pleaded : Now the matter being to be decided at the Birth, would not any man that has a thing to prove, and can make choice of Witnesses, take those of greatest reputation, and such as were known to be impartial; would not you, if a Will was made in favour of you against the Heir, see that the Witnesses that subscribe be of good repute, for it may be the Heir may put you to the proof of the thing, only because in Judgment he knows the Evidence of your Witnesses wont be taken; but to chuse such as the Law and Nation disallow of, can be no otherwise presumed than a Counterfeit, they were privy to, and connived at, what others would have detected; yet notwithstanding, forcibly and with a strong hand, to set up such Witnesses against the Law of the Land, and his own Interest, is certainly nothing but what all honest men will protest against.

The *French King* thinking the birth required help, like the King of *England's* second, sets forth Menaces in his Memorial, or Letter, to Cardinal *D'Estrees*, at the Court of *Rome*, that the Prince of *Orange* had call'd in question the Prince of *Wales's* Birth, &c. which Sentence he draws in by the Head and Shoulders, being a thing very improperly squeez'd in, thinking to cut the knot he cannot untie. It being observable, that three several Embassadors went and came about the time of this pretended Delivery, and I am very credibly inform'd, that by this means, and this way, went all the Intelligence to *Rome*, and Communications on both sides; the reason of this privateness, being

being left Envoys to *Rome* so very buisy at that time, would have look'd suspicious. And it cannot be supposed, but the Duke of *Modena's* Embassador knew all the Juggles, so expecting the Child would be Born at the beginning of *June*, and not in *July*, as gave out; he begins his taking leave in the latter end of *May*, that as soon as the Child was born, he might be gone, to give Intelligence to *Rome*, without the noise of an Envoy.

The Childs being sent to *Richmond*, separate from the Queen, was certainly done that she might be eased from the trouble of a forc'd fondness, which being so continually to have been done (had the Child been always with her) would have at last grown so nauseous and awkward, that notice must have been taken thereof, from the difference between a continual forc'd Indulgence, and a free and real one; sure her fondness should have been great, not only as it was her only Child, but the great hope of attaining that which she so passionately desired, yet notwithstanding she used all means and pretences to have it out of her sight: This is very like a pretended or forster Parent, but far from real and natural fondness, and which no woman (considering 'twas an only Child) could have undergone, considering circumstances for a real love, suggests so many fears, passions, and desires, as that it may be neglected, thinking none can look after it so well as she herself: and a thousand such things, which all the worldly Interest can never suggest; the one being the motive of Policy, the other of a passionate, maternal love and fondness.

The Doctors weighing the Milk of the Woman now Wet-Nurse, shews that they ought to have seen the Queens, ere they gave their opinion for it not to suck; for the same reason they refused the Milk of other Women, they must have refused the Queens, if at all refused; but they did not refuse such Womens without seeing it, therefore not seeing the Queens, they could not refuse it nor speak of it; so that this is a confirmation to what I said above, relating to its being brought up by hand, which was not, as is pretended, by the advice of the Doctors, but the private interest and design I have here intimated.

The Queen going to *Windfor* presently after the month was out for the Air, shews that she might (had there not been the design I set forth) have gone to lie in there: Since it never was pretended that the King had any business to dispatch here in Town, that required his stay all *April, May, &c.* Whereby he might be hindred from being at the Delivery: But it is notoriously apparent that the conveniencies of St. *Jam's's*, and the Convent adjoining, are not to be met with in this Kingdom again, for the more easie conveyance of such an Imposture into the World.

The next thing that occurs is the manner of taking the Depositions, for when a matter is contested, such a man charging, and such a one denying, if the party denying examines Witnesses, the Opponent ought to have liberty to cross-examine such Witnesses on Interrogatories, or pertinent questions to find out the truth, for a man, may by equivocation and reserves, lay a story together that shall *prima facie* make for one party, but when sifted and explained, shall

make

make for the other : And this cannot be a good Examination, for the Witnesses produced by the King were not in the state and circumstances other Witnesses usually are, for in other matters if a man speaks a truth, whether making or marring the party he is examined for, such witnesses shall be safe, and the party whose cause is so prejudiced can take no revenge : But here any man that should throw out, or that should urge a suspicion against this Birth, he is sure to be ruined, persecuted and gibbeted.

'Tis a good exception against a Witness to say he has a dependance on the party for whom he is examined ; but 'tis a greater to say that the Witness has such a dependance, that he has not only his livelihood by him, but his life hangs on the Arbitrary will of a man whose depravedness can put to death without Law or Reason ; certainly such Witnesses fear shall be enough to keep his tongue from saying any thing may anger the Tyrant : And his Evidence cannot be allowed of who hopes for rewards, or fears punishment, according to the matter he shall depose.

Is it not strange now that they should infer from them, and force men to credit 'em as much as if they had been regularly capacitated Witnesses ; certainly if they could have gotten regular, as well as these irregular and partial Evidences, they would have done it, that they might have insisted the more warrantable on the creditableness of their testimony.

There can be no stress laid on that Examination, where the party from whom a Witness speaks partially, can protect such witness against the other he abuses, so that the party wronged is not capable of taking due satisfaction. If the King does but pretend, tho never so absurdly, that they abuse him, he can revenge, but the other tho never so apparently wronged, cannot have redress. The King is Defendant and the Papists maintainers ; so his Majesty sits as Judge and the Papists Defendants, are examined for themselves, and none to interrupt them.

I urge that the King ought not to have been there, and that his presence awed the Deponents to speak partially for him, and so overawed the Auditors that they could not interrogate, which had been the only way to have found out the Truth : But that liberty was not given to any present, whereas they ought to have been desired to put their questions ; it not being convenient for the Auditors, on many obvious reasons, to Interrogate, without first leave had of the King.

The circumstances of all parties could not oblige the Witnesses to bethink themselves, as in other places of Judicature ; for let it have been what it would, so it was for the King's Interest, there were rewards, and no fear of being found perjured, and prosecuted for it.

They could not avoid coming when sent for by the King, tho they knew that they could do him no service, if they spoke truth, and their plain and ingenious thoughts. And when they were come, fear and the awe of his presence kept them from saying any thing that should harm the King, and consequently themselves.

The King ought not to have sent only for such persons as were at the labour, (and perhaps sent not for all them neither,) but should likewise

likewise have made publick Proclamation, that all parties whatsoever who knew any thing concerning the Queens bigness and delivery, should come and depose on Oath such their knowledge : And that he promised to indemnify, and not molest 'em for any thing whatsoever, if faithfully and impartially delivered. I must confess it is not proper for parties to summon witnesses against themselves ; But in this case, where it must be supposed there was no guilt on the part of the King and Queen, he ought to have seen if any thing to the purpose could have been said against the Birth, that he might have vindicated it fairly to the World.

Perhaps it will be asked why I insist on the Depositions, as evincing the forgery of the Birth, considering the King not only had the choice of those whom he called to the pretended delivery, but had likewise the opportunity of leaving out of those, the bold and most conscientious at this after examination. And therefore it cannot be thought he would bring any that should prejudice the cause they came to evidence for ? In answer whereto I shall offer but this, The King chose, as near as he could, the most timorous and partial to be at the delivery ; if there were by chance any in whom he had been mistaken, and would not swallow the trick, this second choice purged such parties out. But supposing the Witnesses to his hearts desire, let's see what use may be made of their Evidence ; but first I shall mention a story applicable to this ; A Gentleman of *Grays Inn* some few years since dying, his Laundress pretends the deceased was indebted to her in such a sum, and produces a Bond for the same, Subscribed (as appeared) by the deceased ; the Heir putting her to the proof thereof, she produced two Witnesses, who swore that they saw the deceased actually sign and write the name subscribed, upon which a Verdict going to pass for the Laundress, it happened one present asked the Witnesses if the man was then living, and writ it himself, or was he dead, and had his hand guided by another ? To which, after many shiftings, they answered, as was true, that they had put a Pen in the deceaseds hand after his death, and so subscribed the Name. The instance is very applicable. And further, since we had not the liberty to Interrogate the Deponents, which was the only way, as in the case above, to have found out the truth, and so being not allowed that right, the King's pretences are not only false and inconsistent, but all is covered over with an equivocating and partial Evidence.

Those Witnesses which have positively denied or equivocally concealed some things which were material, varnished over others, and not giving their true sentiment of the pretended Labour and Delivery, are as ill as those that added things which were not done, as Mrs. W. --- saying she delivered the Queen of that Child, all the rest, I say, are with herequally forsworn.

If such an Examination as this shall be suffered or insisted on, so as to claim the like subjection of belief as is due to depositions regularly taken, then farewell all future redress ; for to have Depositions regularly taken, there ought notice to be given some convenient time before, with the names of those persons intended to be examined :

amined: There ought likewise to be exhibited plain and intelligible Interrogatories, not intricate, such as confound and intangle the Examinant, by equivocal and catching words; which Interrogatories ought to be drawn up by an impartial hand: And further, such Witnesses must be examined by an Examiner no wife by it or concerned in the cause. And lastly, such Witnesses must be neither dependers, relations, nor parties; nor must Papists be admitted as Witnesses in any cause whatsoever: It is a usual Interrogatory, Have you been instructed what to answer thereto? Art thou any Relation, Servant, or Depender? shall you get any thing by the partys overcoming for whom you are examined? Such Witness is utterly incapable and incapacitated, and his Deposition must be suppressed.

Again, the Opponent hath the liberty to examine these Witnesses over again by apt Interrogatories, through which the Examinants will be so sifted, that unless they down-right deny the thing asked, and so forswear themselves (against which can be no remedy) they can find no wicked Evasion, no Equivocation: Which some people, devilishly insatuated, think no Perjury: This is the way which the whole wisdom of man has invented, without Racks and Tortures to find out the truth, and which Cross Examinations are ever executed in doubtful matters, or when the Witnesses are suspected to be partial.

But the Examination at the Council-Table is not in the least corresponding to these methods laid down, but contrary in all respects.

'Tis such away, such a method, as perhaps was never seen in the World before. Was there ever forty two persons called before Authority, to witness for a matters being Non-Criminal as charged, and such Deponents not to be asked one question, when there were present several Bishops, Nobles, Lawyers and Aldermen, who ever took it for a Cheat to this very hour, and consequently, were so unsatisfied at the taking of the pretended Depositions? Yet were not any of these suffered to Interrogate to those obviously imperfect and Abrupt Sentences; nor had such Depositions been as full as they ought to have been, and which their own case (if the Child was the Queens) required the truth, could not have been so concealed as it is, but had either carried the Princes Birth beyond questions; or, have so exploded the Villany, as they should not have had an Equivocation to hold by.

Therefore these matters laid before the Council on the 22^d of *October* last, and here Animadverted on are not Depositions, nor Examinations legally taken, with relation to the Circumstances of the Cause; but a medley of Proceedings, a new manner of taking Evidence, purely Calculated and cut out for an old Dormant design, that has lain unpresented since Queen *Mary's* days, and *England* nere saw such tricks since Popery left us.

So that these pretended Depositions are no more than Affidavits drawn up as each had before consulted for their own safety, not to incur the Kings displeasure; so having the liberty of saying what they would upon one side without fear, interruption, or scurvy knotty Questions; they spoke not what they ought and which

would consequently have made their Majesties displeased, but what might keep themselves in their Majesties favour.

What was the Solemnity of bringing these Judicial Acts into Chancery, but to give 'em a varnish of Regularity, as if all had been managed as Causes are in that Court, whereas never was Decree made in Chancery in favour of so notorious a Cheat on Credit of a bundle of Affidavits, dictated by none but partial Deponents, for a Cause wherein they were over-awed by the powerfulness of one of the parties, *viz.* The King. As for the Witnesses saying in Chancery that their Depositions were true, we will grant it (*W-----s* excepted) but not that they are the whole truth or Impartially deliverd, and the more true the matters of Fact therein contained are, the weaker are all their proofs, and the stronger are our exceptions to the Childs Birth, because their pretended proofs are not contradictory to its being a Cheat, but corresponding to such a Birth; and frivolous, and inconsistent to a true one, wherein it had been their Interest to be publick; so that these Depositions or Affidavits being the very utmost plausibility they can put on it to evince its being a true Birth, this plausibility is meer pretence which does not amount to any thing for their cause. Nothing is therefore said against the truth we offer, but matters truly consistent and agreeable with the position we lay down, *viz.* That the Prince of *Wales* Birth is a Cheat. For what reason did Mrs. *W-----s* appear at the Court of Chancery in so mean a habit, (going at other times richly attired, but now) with a Green Apron, a short tattered Scarf, and as her habit was changed so was her Speech and Countenance; certainly it was, that she might seem to that great Concourse as a poor silly Creature whom it was impossible their Majesties would trust to in so great an Affair, one who seemed not to have the sense to be capable to manage it.

If all Births are equally capable of having such proof as whereto can be no exception, then I Appeal to the whole World, if the Evidence they have given, though admitted, can amount to such proof as might have been had; nay, to any proof at all, had it been true it was capable of proof: And as it was capable, 'twas their Interest to have made it so Incontestable, which 'tis not to be supposed but they would have done. A Father may forfeit the right a Child has in Reversion, by neglect, as in this very case, and yearly claims; but when such a Father, being notoriously known to have made such neglects, yet shall pretend he has not, and going to the Vindication thereof, his Evidences are not only in the whole Inconsistent and Contradictious, with each other, but seperately in themselves, weak and frivolous, all bearing the very Face of a Trick; such an Evidence, I say, on the part of the Father, not in the least giving the lye to the Opponents asseverations, must so far carry the matter beyond suspence, that it amounts to a Confession of the Guilt, and claims Sentence against its self.

If you come to particular Objections and Questions, as did you see the Child Born, you can find no better an answer to it, throughout the Depositions, than this, *viz.* I saw it taken out of a Bed.

To this again is an obvious Interrogatory: Do you think it was conveyed there in a Warming-pan, or otherwise? To this not a Word. If ask if any saw her Milke run out, plainly and perfectly from her naked Nipple, to this they answer, They saw Milk wet on her Shift. And so of the rest, giving in the whole not one good or reasonably satisfactory answer. And now I shall come to consider every part of the Depositions by themselves, as Printed by Authority.

THE whole Q. D. was pleased to say, no Oath being administered, is worded with very great diffidence; she gives no matter of Fact for, or against the Birth, Is it not strange for her to be at a Labour, and yet not lay down one Circumstance among so many that ever occur? Certainly she saw nothing agreeable to a Delivery, for she would then have spoken it, since sure none will say she was partial out of love to the *Protestants*.

Her Majesty says she staid till the Queen Consort was Delivered of the Prince of *Wales*; I say so too, there was a Delivery, and a Prince of *Wales*, such as it was. Now the truth of its being a Prince, Lawfully intituled, depends on the Delivery: Child Births are obvious, and things the most capable of a plain Testimony and Explanation (as to the circumstances) of any human Affair whatsoever; and if Q. D. does not prove what they designed, and what is capable of undeniable proof, were it true then, it must be taken *pro confesso*, that the Prince of *Wales* is an Imposture.

The Affidavit runs thus, *viz.* That when the King sent for her to the Queens Labour, she came as soon as she could, and never stirred from her till she was Delivered of the the Prince of *Wales*; which is no more than thus: That the King sent Mr. *Nicolas* to me, who said I was desired to come to the Queens Labour; I came to the Labour to which I was sent for, and stirred not away till that Labour had produced a Prince of *Wales*. Now what this Labour was to which she was sent for, and the Prince it produced, we must look for among the rest; and that they can give no Facts in Evidence, but what imply, and are consonant to a sham Labour, I shall anon make appear.

Perhaps it will be wondered that among 42 several Witnesses, Justice should so prevail as to work on them some remorse, and bravely to deliver their plain thoughts, notwithstanding the danger. To which may be offered, there are certainly in every Nation 40 Persons, that for fear, dependance, or an imposing Religion, will connive at, or conceal the Truth; forty such were chosen, and that people have frailties is not to be wondered at. None can deny but *Garnet* was Perjured, yet was he Sainted; Equivocation is only another Name for Perjury.

But supposing most of these not swayed by the aforesaid reasons, yet there is a Self preservation to be considered, when the truth

thereby laid open, will not countervail for the risque that is run. Thus, suppose my Lord be a man may fall under this denomination, and had vehement Suspicions of its being all but pretence, yet could not he communicate such mistrust to others before Examination, to know whether they would stand by him and speak his Mistrusts, if his Lordship should first begin them, so that when they came to be examined, the first of these Impartial Lords, whose part it was to speak, knew not whether if he threw out his Suspicions, the next would confirm them, so that he being but one Witness, could never have hurt the Birth by a Suspicion, but very much endangered himself.

Well then, all the Witnesses have spoken as much for the King's Interest as possible, and if there are any seeming suspicions, they are really such as the facts were, and not designedly by them made so. Of this I am very glad, for had the Witnesses showed their Resentments, the *Papists* would have said they were partial, and so not owning the Depositions, would have denyed our Suspicions from thence drawn; but the Witnesses being owned by them to have Impartially delivered the utmost they know, then are all our allegations, if rightly drawn from these sure grounds undeniable, and shall be made use of accordingly. The face of these Depositions, was the best gloss that was possible to be put on such a design; and how lame, weak and foolish it is, you may judge by the foregoing and following Catalogue, the Contrivances that are apparently seen through it, and which it cannot cover, it plainly appearing these Depositions are great Evidence for us, they proving that such and such Facts being done, are not the real circumstances attending a true Labour, but the usual Tricks and Pretences that are made use of in such designs.

I am necessitated to displace the Depositions other than as Printed, and shall rank 'em in more convenient order, that we may take our rise from the Conception, and so go on gradually to the pretended Delivery.

The last Paragraph of Sir C. S---'s Affidavit, relates to the Queens Conception, by which I will prove that the Queens first pretended Conception by all the Circumstances which the Deponent says her Majesty gave him, thereof was the only reckoning for which she ought to have prepared, That she came to a day by that reckoning, That the second reckoning which she pretended to prepare for could by her own Arguments be no expectation in the least, and that both of 'em were the reckonings of other Women.

Sir C. says, that the Queen in December then last, in Discourse about her reckoning told him she had two reckonings, the one from the 6th of Sept. when the King came to her at the Bath; the other the 6th of October following, when she came to the King at Windsor, but for some reasons rather reckoned from the latter, and then said, that she had gone Twelve Weeks and was quick.

But the Deponent knew it could not be in so short a time after the last reckoning, nor was it, for the Queen was then gone full Sixteen Weeks ; at which time she quickned with her former Children, and accordingly was brought to Bed within Three Days of full Forty Weeks ; and it is altogether unprecedented, that quickning should be in Twelve Weeks, but Sixteen as it had been with her Three Children afore, according to the rule of Nature and other Women, what reason had she to set up the last reckoning, that no preparation might be but against that time ? but that the Princess *Ann* and every one should look on that, and if they did intend to be at the Labour, it must be that in *July*, when the other was past, and so suppress the other, which was the likeliest reckoning which by all reasons she ought to have prepared for, and accordingly should have had Nurses, Pallet-Bed, and the Princess, &c. And been sooner at the place she intended to lye in at : Now I would feign know on what grounds this last reckoning was so undoubtedly stuck to, since it was the false one ; why, perhaps they will Answer the certain private reason the Queen had, which tho' she then was in Conference with her Doctors as is necessary about it, she neither acquainted him nor ever any body else, nor in truth could have any certain sign to contradict these true ones that have so proved themselves ; therefore the private reason of sticking to that which after proves the false one, is wholly taken away by saying it was false and did so prove, and for that she had no pretended nor plausible reason whatsoever ; Now that the first was false is evident, for that had she certainly been with Child she wou'd not have been so far from the Place intended, a Queen be so far and so unprepared, why, a Citizens Wife would not go cross the Street for danger of her self and Child, but a Queen to be so careless, or suffered to be so, inasmuch as her hurt had endangered a Prince so much sought, is a thing I must confess altogether Monstrous ; and further there is as much evidence from the premises, that the 9th of *June*, on which she went to *St. James* was the day which she might as well look for to be her full time as the 12th following ; which was the exact Forty Weeks ; First, for that tho' some Women come after Forty Weeks, when a Girl, yet they evermore prepare before, or against the Forty Weeks, not knowing but it might come some days before, as this did. Secondly, that Women reckon, tho' it be some days afore Forty Weeks, yet they have gone their full time, and sure all are prepared against that full time, which is a Week at least before Forty and not have a considerable way to go, a Pallet-Bed in the next Room un-aired, and no body, not so much as a Nurse, Midwife, nor any of skill about her, this is a very great proof that both these reckonings were a design and juggle, for as I hinted before ; it is to be presum'd they had several Women, therefore must be prepared in their pretended reckoning, for to take the first which might be a Boy ; there-fore

fore all these reckonings were but reckonings of the other Women, and intended to be made use of for the first that brought a Boy into the World.

So having proved the Juggle of her reckonings, and that this pretence by all its circumstances was Calculated to produce a false Child, we shall see what was the next step (leaving that of her Milk and Belly till anon) which is from her being alone more than usual, sending all about her away, being so well so short a time before bringing forth, the unpreparedness at the same time they were in, and so show the opportunity she got by all the Circumstances following, wherein there appears so much design, so many consistencies with a pretended labour, and so many Inconsistencies with a true one, that none but Jesuited Bigots can act, nor any but a designing Papist deny.

Pel. T--- That she attended the Queen when she was last with Child, and that on the 10th of June last in the Morning her Majesty told the Deponent she was in pain and bid her send for the Midwife, Ladies and Servants, after which she staid with the Queen during her labour and until she was delivered of a Prince of Wales; now as to the first Sentence of being last with Child, it had two Faces if she knew, as certainly she did, any thing of the Juggle, here she Equivocates and refers to the Queens being last with Child of the Lady H. when tis possible she might be likewise with her, and if so, then 'twas when last with Child; if she knew nothing of the cheat, then this Assertion of the Queens being last with Child is to be concluded by the latter part of the Deposition concerning the Queens labour; if this Lady had seen nothing before, and we can prove that this labour was fictitious, and that she could not see any thing that should give any Testimony of a true Birth, then is the labour and delivery, and being with Child all of a piece.

Now this being after Eight of the Clock, is it possible that her Majesty, being brought to Bed so soon after, should not have any symptoms but an hour before, and her full time too? That her Majesty should be up and dress'd so soon? For dress'd she must be, otherwise the Queen could have no pretence to send them, nor they excuse to go from her; but go they did, and no question wheedled all away, and she left alone with this one Lady, all gone so far off as not within call but to Chappel, where 'tis usual to stay a considerable while, perhaps never done so before. And this I insist on, for if it was not usual, they would not have gone on their own head, but sent away, and if designedly and unusually sent away, we know what they would be at, for it was the greatest help imaginable to their design, and had they staid, would have been Evidence for the truth of the Birth, but their being so sent away, is a great suspicion of the Imposture. Now it being convenient for one to stay for the plausibility of calling the rest, so of all her Gent. this P. T. was pickt out, an *Italian* Lady, her own

Native,

Native, a great Papist, and with whom it shall be supposed (having a great disregard to the *English*) she would certainly disclose sooner than to another, therefore this is more suspicious than if any other, this was the likeliest to be concerned and acquainted primarily in the business, who being sent away, the Queen was now alone, and none within call or hearing.

Madam *T-----* calling Mr. *W-----* and he going for Mrs. *W-----* and it is observable that the Queen continued sometime alone, before Mrs. *W-----* came, who cannot be supposed to do any harm to the Privacy, and was ordered to send for Madam *D-----* who was at the Chappel; and to give the greater Opportunity to what was to be transacted, the K. being up and dressed, was gone to his own side, drawing all the Men with him, whereby they were at full liberty to convey the Child out of the Dormitory, adjoining to the Queens Chamber, into her Bed.

Lastly, Had it been any body else but *T-----* I should not have so much as suspected, for as there was something to be acted while they had turn'd their backs, so who fitter than this one certainly concerned, being all along of the Queens privacies, a cunning Woman and great Papist, Zealous for the Queens Interest, a hater of the Princesses, and no lover of our Country, And this absence of Madam *T-----* was done on purpose, that if it should be objected, being such a Favourite that she knew of the Cheat, she might say I was far from the place, when 'tis supposed to be done: But it was she carried on the feigned bigness of her Belly, so was the properest Person to be with the Queen just at the time she cried out, and for her going away it was when a better, *viz.* *W-----* was come.

Madam *D-----* being sent for from *St. James's* Chappel, found the Q. all alone, who bid this Deponent get ready the Pallat-bed which stood in the next Room; but that bed having never been aired, the Deponent perswaded the Queen not to make use of it.

Now is not this a strange thing, that a Queen on the very day she expected should be so unprepared of a thing the most necessary, and which was so useful that the Queen askt for it; alas, 'twas an easie thing first to carry it so that no body should know where she would lie in, and so run to this place which had the Pallat removed but a little before, and without doubt by the ordering of one of her Creatures: And all the pretence is of its not being aired, when it was certainly designed before that it should neither be brought in nor aired, which none that had the charge of preparing the Lodgings for a Child-bed Woman dare have omitted. And here let us take notice, that the first not letting it be brought in, and the next of not having it aired, and so not using a Pallat, was greatly opportunate to the design of this false Birth; for it had been absolutely impossible to have carry'd the Cheat on by the use of a Pallat: So for the convenience of imposing a false birth, they dispenced with

with the necessity belonging to a true one. But here it will be objected, if it was so necessary for their design to have her delivered in Bed, why lay she not a Bed all the morn? And then coming in Labour, the excuse of not rising had been plausible. To this I answer, that her rising was of absolute necessity, for by that means, first being drest, and waiters done their duty, she might send 'em away, and so lay the Child in the Bed when all alone. Secondly, to have the pretence of warming it, that the Child might be brought in the Warming-pan. And having now shewn why the Pallat-bed was not used, why she rose, why she used the great Bed rather than the High, and that these things were not matters of Indifferency, but absolutely necessary with such a Cheat, without which it could not be performed, and that they are utterly repugnant and inconsistent with a real being with Child; I shall pass on to examine the matter of the Warming-pan it self.

The Deponent further saith, she saw Fire carried into the Queens room in a Warming-pan, to warm the Bed.

The Story about the Warming-pan is so likely and probable a thing, and for which the Queen purposely rose to give opportunity for its use; when I do confidently aver, that no Woman so near her time, and having hard Labour, as appears by the Childs being stunn'd and her shrieking; Yet to this very material thing that stands against them, nothing is said no more than as could do it a careless thing thrown in, which amounts to no more than a common Phrase offspeaking: As suppose I had been in any room where this Warming-pan had gone through, and having no Suspicion (as it is with Madam D-----, who if she had any, dared not to deliver her self) but in common phrase would say (though I see not the Fire) there is Fire or Coals gone to warm the Bed. Nothing so common, and I do aver, had Madam D----- seen fire, or had the King thought she had, Madam D----- would have explained whether she had seen the fire, or how she came to see it; and having omitted it her self, the King being present would have Interrogated. It had been absolutely necessary, and I am confident they would have proved it by bringing the party that took up the fire; and enquiring whether she that took 'em up, could swear she carried 'em forthwith to the Queens Bed, and did not deliver it to another. Madam D-----, above all the rest, saw the fire, when it appears that the Warming-pan was with the Cover down, which is unusual, and that had it been up more would have seen it, and spoke to it as well as she; but of this, not a word to make us believe there was Fire, but innumerable Circumstances to shew there was not any, this Warming-pan being brought in, no question, from the Dormitories hard by, when not above three or four were there, and those Papists, Dependents and Well-wishers to the Cheats going on, as *W----*, *Delabadie*, &c.

That Mrs. W--- should warm the Bed (for 'twas she as the Depoſiten ſays prepar'd it) now was contriv'd, becauſe ſhe was the only proper Party that could do it; ſhe knew how to take the Child out, and lay it for the moſt ſecurity, being to produce it again, and ſo knew where and how to find it; ſhe was the Party muſt help the Queen into Bed, and ſo knew how to direct and lay her: All this done too, the Curtains drawn, and ſhe on the farther ſide of the Bed, warming it, or bringing the Child out of the Pan, and laying it in the Bed; for the Queen being to lie on the farther ſide, that ſide being next the Wall, 'tis evidently proper that none were between her and that Wall, or by her, for that it ſhall be preſum'd, that ſo few being in the Room as but four, Mrs. W--- preparing and warming the Bed, the Nurſe running up and down, Mrs. D--- and the C. of S--- was little enough about the Queen, to hold her up and undreſs her, and the Queen with D--- could not be between the Wall and Mrs. W---, but properly on that ſide fartheſt from it, becauſe it was largeſt, more proper next the Fire, and that there was not ſpace enough for the Queen and W---, warming the Bed, to be all on that ſide. I believe Madam D--- was not primarily concern'd in the Cheat, but being a Wellwiſher, would not heighten but cover Suſpicions, and ſo would not pry nor be buſie about any thing but what the Queen deſir'd of them, which was enough to ſay, Let her warm the Bed, be you about me. But it will perhaps be urg'd, That they need not have been ſo private among Friends. To this I anſwer, That thoſe things which were neceſſary to be done had ſome ſuſpicion in them, but always the Wellwiſhers were imploy'd, who as much as in them lay would perform their part, but it was abſolutely againſt their Intereſt to let either Well or Ill wiſhers ſee the thing it ſelf, for that was a Secret ought to be imparted to as few as poſſible, and is never ſafe in many Mouths; Two may be reſolute and cloſe among Ten, but more, extremely dangerous to their Deſign. None but Papiſts being there, very willingly let Mrs. W--- do what ſhe would, the Curtains being drawn, without looking after her, for that they knew whatever Mrs. W--- did was for the Benefit of that Cauſe, which they deſir'd ſhould be brought about at any rate.

C. of S--- All that is in the firſt Part of this Ladies Depoſition I have ſpoken to already in my Conſiderations on the foregoing Depoſition, and therefore deſire the Reader, if he does not find every particular Circumſtance of this Depoſition taken notice of, that he would look back to my Conſideration on thoſe Witneſſes Depoſitions that ſpeak to the like purpoſe; and trying theſe by that Teſt, I queſtion not but that he will be ſatisfy'd, that all that Harangue in this Ladies firſt part of her Depoſition, of her being ſent for twice to the Labour of the Queen, ſaying, *She was in Labour*, and what that Labour was, were all deſign'd Advantages, which I have conſider'd in Madam D---, and ſo ſhall paſs on to what has not yet occurr'd.

This Deponent S---d ſays, *That the Queen after having had ſome lingering Pains ſaid, ſhe fear'd ſhe ſhould not be brought to Bed a great while, but the Midwife aſſur'd the Queen, that ſhe wanted only one thorough Pain to bring the Child into the World.*

Now what can this ſignifie more than that the Queen thought hereby to ſhew the little Correſpondence, Agreement, or Deſign ſhe and the Midwife had, and that there was no foreknowledge in the Matter; ſo the Midwife at the Cries, to ſhew her Skill, and the Queens Miſtake, out

comes a Child according to the Midwife's Prediction. So that if there can any thing be imply'd by this Impertinence, it seems to be cut out for their present Occasion, for all their Discourse throughout is repugnant to one another, even in the most trifling things; like two Rooks that will chatter, contradict and quarrel together on purpose that the third, whom they intend to bubble, may think they have no Correspondence. It will be ask'd, perhaps, Why the Midwife should pretend to know the Queen's Case better than herself? Why to shew that the Queen (who must be suppos'd to know of the Cheat as well as the Midwife) was ignorant of any Intrigue whatsoever. But the Dispute and its Design ended not here, for upon the Difference of those two Parties a third must be call'd in to be Umpire, who tho' not an Intriguer, yet a Well-wisher to the Cause; For, says the Queen, in answer to Mrs. W---, *'tis impossible, the Child lies so high*; and commanded the Deponent to lay her Hand on her Belly, but not a Word mention'd in the Deposition of the Posture she found it in.

This Deponent says farther, *That a great Pain come at past Nine of the Clock, and the Queen was deliver'd.*

It must be noted, That after Eight of the Clock the Queen was so well, that the King and all her Servants left her alone, (a thing perhaps never known since she has been a Wife, but such a Step was very necessary, and must be had) so that after her beginning to feel Pain, calling People, &c. it was not above 3 Quarters of an Hour e'er she was brought a Bed, and yet she skreems, and they talk of Pains, as one that had long and hard Labour; tho' nothing is so inconsistent with her being deliver'd in a Bed cover'd, none assisting or helping, tho' many standing by, as in the most easiest Labours, and the Child stunn'd as in the hardest, which I shall explicate anon.

It is convenient first to shew what are the Steps and Consequences of the most easy Labour, they may be deliver'd in Bed; the Child may work itself down, &c. and not by the Pains force the Mother to skreek; for Delivery is a Work of Nature, which as they are different, so the hard and the easie are without difficulty distinguish'd. But what a Medley is the Queen's being in Bed, according to the easiest Labours, skreeming as at the hardest imaginable for the time, having none to help her but the Midwife, when even the most easie Labours are generally better provided for.

Pray now, from what one Reason in this Ladies Deposition can it be expected we can believe a real Delivery, seeing her own Reasons cannot rationally satisfy herself? If she urges the Bigness of the Queen's Belly, nothing more easie (as I shewed before) to deceive her. If, again, her skreeming shall be urg'd, consider how easie it is to prove any one in Labour and deliver'd, if no other Arguments are necessary, but to say, such a one skreemed.

Then how came you to say that the Queen was deliver'd? Because Mrs. W--- said, When the Birth was over she would pluck this Deponent by the Coat, which was to be the Sign that the Queen was deliver'd, and of a Boy, when it appears the C. neither saw the Child born, nor whether it was a Boy or a Girl, therefore can be no Evidence.

But this very saying of the Midwife that it was a Boy is utterly incongruous, for no Midwife can see of what Sex the Child is before the Burthen is drawn out, without detriment to the Queen, which cannot be thought to be hazarded for her Curiosity; therefore the Midwife's Item was by a Foreknowledge.

That

C. of R. *That this Deponent was in the Q's Chamber while the Q. was in Labour, and saw the P. of Wales when he was taken out of the Bed.*

These Circumstances do not in the least prove, that a Child came out of the Womb, but they might produce one out of a Bed where they had laid it; this being no more to the purpose than if she had said, she has since seen it taken out of the Cradle. The Question is, Did you see the Child born? And the Deposition is nothing to the purpose.

But here you will ask, If the King knew they could give no better Answers, why did he bring it on the Stage, since the Matter was better thought on before, than it could be expected it should now? I answer, That the King thought he had cheated the Spectators, or at least they were such who would not, or dare not, in the rehearsing it, add any thing; and so he concluded the World might have been as well imposed upon, as the Witnesses were with the same thing. Tno' supposing these Witnesses not to have wilfully added Circumstances which were not, but admitting all was carry'd as in the Depositions, these very Circumstances are great Indications that 'twas a Cheat, and can have no honest Intention under them.

C. of T--l. *That she stood by the Queen's Bed's-feet when her Majesty was deliver'd of the Prince of Wales.* Now this Deponent being not circumstantial, she refers to the Labour the rest speak of, and can say nothing to the purpose: On the other side, it is not to be expected from a Papist, a Wellwisher to the Cause, and aw'd by the King's Presence, that she should say any thing might endanger the pretended Young Prince.

Hen. Lady W--- *That she was in the Queen's Bed-Chamber a Quarter of an Hour before her Majesty was deliver'd, and, standing by the Bed-side saw the Queen in Labour, and heard her cry out much.* Here is nothing to do, but to consider the Manner of the Labour; and whether this crying out much was consistent with her Labour, as it appear'd hard or easie; and what in the whole be thereon laid.

In the first place she owns she was in the Chamber but a Quarter of an Hour before the Birth, and so did not see the Warming-Pan, nor whether all the other Steps were feasible, nor was she there when the Queen called to a Protestant Lady, whom she had a mind should be absent, and cry'd, *Pray go, take my Lord Chancellor out with you, for I am very hot, and must be uncover'd*; so she and my Lord went out, and the Door was immediately shut after them; but whither the Queen did uncover (tho' there was at that time none but Friends) I could never hear of. So taking this Lady not to be one of the Confederacy, but a Well-wisher, we shall shew that her crying out much was inconsistent with all the other Signs, which were those that, as well as they could manage them, imply'd an easie Labour; for to have no likelihood or Qualm at full time, 'till an Hour before Delivery, and that Labour not to come on by Frights, nor other Accident, then to be deliver'd in a cover'd Bed, tho' against Interest and Conveniency, and to have no occasion of help; all these Signs of easie Labour, and yet to skreem, and have the Child black and in Convulsions, manifest Signs of hard Labour, is such a Medley as never was heard of. It is not enough to say, Such a one is in Labour because she Skreeks, 'tis no Answer to the Question, but did you see her Face? Was she pale? Was her Eyes and Cheeks hollow? Did she look ghastly, amazed, and in the anguish and high Convulsions of a Soul really in that Torture she seemed to be by her

cries? This, no question, the Deponent would have spoken if she could which had signified not much, and as it is 'tis nothing to the purpose.

Mrs. A--n C---y Went with the Queen Dowager to the Queen Consort's Bed-Chamber, and stay'd till the Queen was Delivered, and saw the Prince as soon as he was born.

Whereby it appears she was not there sooner than Queen Dowager and consequently saw no more than she; for it plainly appears that the Child was conveyed into Bed, and the Queen therein too, and covered, resolving to let the Queen Dowager, and all that came with and after her, to see no more; and as for her saying the Queen was Delivered, implying, she saw it, is no more than seeing a Child taken out of the Bed, nay, they did not in reality see so much, but by the Midwife's saying she had it from thence.

C. of L-----d She was not at the Queen's Labour, being herself in Child-bed, but was almost constantly with the Queen while she was with Child, and hath put on her Smock, and seen the Milk run out of her Breast, and felt her Belly; so that she is sure she could not be deceived, but that the Queen was with Child.

All that can be said is, That this Lady's Deposition implies no more, than seeing Milk drop from that part of the Queen's Shift about her Breast; for should any Person see Milk drop thro' a Woman's Shift, about that part covering her Breast, would they not (knowing she was Married, that she had born Children, was reported to be with Child, and had an appearance of a great Belly) believe the Milk run out of her Breast; as I suppose a Man had wound a Napkin about his Leg, and should say it was cut, and Blood should run thro' this Napkin, might not you say, that you see his Cut bleed, whereas perhaps his Leg was never cut, but that a Sponge full of Blood was bound underneath, and by the pressure it ran out; but if on a mature and deliberate Examination on Oath, I explain myself no otherwise, and that my words cannot possibly mean any more, then 'tis all to no purpose; for a Sponge, as before, being fill'd with Milk, might at the time the Queen design'd to impose on the Deponent, be conveyed next her Breast, and by the pressure would yield drops enough for that purpose, but afterwards carried down into the Bed, and tho' the Smock were pulled off, yet the C--- is satisfied. But to conclude this Argument about the Milk I must add, that I do know several Women, at this time, who have Milk in their Breasts, that have not been Pregnant this Twelve Years, and which may be drawn down, so as to run out, whereby 'tis evident none of the Depositions can be relied on which relate to this Subject.

As for feeling her Belly, I must confess I should be glad to have these Questions answer'd, viz. How long since was you desir'd by the Queen to look on it, for satisfaction against those Reports, or had you any thing to do about it?

To these necessary Questions the Deposition gives not any Answer: for first, it might be so little a while after Conception, that no regard is to be had, especially since the words imply no more than a View by chance, that this sight of the Belly was not near the Queen's Time, appears by the Deponent's Lying in when the Queen did, therefore could not for a considerable time before put on the Queen's Smock as she lay in Bed, without great inconveniency to herself, and her Majesty might easily counterfeit a bigness that was necessary to deceive the Deponent, considering the time she pretended to be gone with Child.

Madam B---y. *That from a little before Easter last, till the Queen was brought to Bed, she saw Her Majesty put on her Smock every Morning, by which means she saw the Milk constantly fall out of Her Majesty's Breasts, and observed the bigness of her Belly.*

Now, as I said before, this Lady was not called to do any thing, or purposely required to take notice, so that she might swear but only by a glance, about which time the Queen might secretly wet her Nipple, or perhaps it might be the effects of the Sponge; so that it was by no other means than by shifting, which being to be done so quick, nothing can be depended thereon; and as to the bigness of her Belly, it can be no more, than that she saw the Queen's Belly, as others did, when she was drest, and the words import no more, than as I may see a Woman go along the Street, and by observing the bigness of her Belly, say, that Woman's with Child, and near her Time.

Dame I--a W---e That she was constantly with the Queen when Her Majesty was likely to Miscarry, (which she gives no reason for her believing) and that she has often seen Milk on Her Majesty's Breast, (this Point is without any new Circumstances, therefore what I said before is a sufficient Answer) and this Deponent put the After-burthen into a Bason of Water: This Action gives very just cause of Suspicion, being done before the Doctors viewed it, and no doubt to prevent a Discovery, that it had not the natural warmth it should have, which the Water would prevent from being found out afterwards, had the Doctors been never so inquisitive.

W---s As to Mrs. W---s the Midwife's Deposition, divide it into two parts, the one is of things obvious, and proved by other particular Persons, as her being call'd by Mr. W---, her making the Bed, her telling the Queen she doubted not but that it was her full time, &c. I no ways doubt nor except against, otherwise than that these things might be, and yet consistent with a false Birth. But secondly, As to feeling the Child stir, or seeing the Milk otherwise than with such Circumstances, mental Reserves and Equivocations, as I have mention'd before, and that she Deliver'd the Queen the 10th of June 1688. of this Male Child, I do utterly except against and disallow. 'Tis obvious that the first Particulars are such Matters of Fact as might really be, and no proof of a Child's being then really born, nor that they cou'd not be done, had not a true Birth been. But the second is her saying she Deliver'd the Queen at that time, of that Male Child, and I hope I have sufficiently made appear, by all the foregoing Circumstances, how utterly inconsistent it is with common sense, that this should be a true Birth, and what Reason can be alledged why this Inconsiderable Woman, utterly incapacitated by Law, and upheld by such great Persons, should have any Credit given her, tho' she swears positively when there is so many convincing Reasons to prove the contrary; especially when 'tis to be considered, that all our Laws, Liberties, and Religion were aimed at in the Design.

D-----y Now for the Counterpart, the Deputy of this Forgery comes, Mrs. D. *She did not miss above six Days all the nine Months, and that at several times, by reason of Sickneß: And that on the 10th of June last she was sent for to the Queen: That the Midwife told the Deponent, that immediately on the next Pain the Queen would be Deliver'd, which accordingly she was, &c.* Throughout this long Deposition there is nothing new to be taken notice of, being Matters that show no Evidence

dence of a real Delivery, and tho' it might reasonably be expected this Deponent might see more than the rest of them, as well as Mrs. W---, because she kneeled down at the Bed-side, yet she says not the least word to the only material Evidence can be given in such Cases, viz. the Child's coming out of the Womb.

La--y M--s of P---s *That about December last, the Queen being like to Mis-carry, (which she gives no other reason for, but the Queen's saying so) she offered some Remedies, which the Doctors examining, were approv'd of; that she saw the Queen shift herself several times, and generally the Milk, sometimes her Smock being wet.*

This seeing the Milk generally, might be no otherwise than the Lady L---d, as to see it drop through her Shift, as in common speaking, and she sometimes seeing it wet on her Smock, was after it was off, she might see that part of her Shift next her Breast wet; for there's only this difference, as suppose I was in a Tent or Booth, and the Rain drops through, here I may say I saw the Rain, tho' perhaps it might be Water thrown over on purpose, and not come down from the Firmament; so that here if the Lady P---s is drove to speak, and comes to Confession when she shall be confronted, she can come off with this, that she only meant so; and therefore shall any assume any thing from the very words, that according to genuine Construction bear a sense that will stand with a false pretended Labour, and that the words, as I have genuinely construed 'em, will bear out my Lady from being forsworn; well, if the words are so, as is evident, then, by reason she is not forsworn, they are true, and the Truth stands on our side.

That sometime after this Deponent went into the Country, and came not till a few days before the Labour.

It is to be noted, all that were immediately concerned kept out of the way, thinking that their being oft with the Queen would be urged as their being concerned more than ordinary.

That she was in the Room at the time of the Queen's Delivery of the Prince, which this Deponent saw; And this Deponent avers this Prince to be the same Child which was then born (and which she saw taken out of the Bed.)

In all this she says no more to the purpose than the rest on this Subject, the pretended Prince having no other Title to it, but because Mrs. W---s pulled him out of the Bed, after the Queen had squeakt, and this Deponent saying nothing ~~that~~ may be a further Proof, I shall proceed to the next.

That she saw the Child taken out of the Bed by the Mid-Lady A----- wife, and given to Mrs. D-----dy, and that she saw it was a Son; and this Deponent has several times seen Milk upon the Queen's Smock, during her being with Child.

But suppose she can, on further Interrogation, truly say she saw the Milk fall distinctly drop by drop, out of the naked Nipple, I see not what can be from thence raised, but that it was drawn down, as I have shewed it, to be usual: Of all which things the King, Queen, and whole Party, knowing the uncertainty, ought to have exposed the Child and Queen before credible modest Persons, that it might have been seen to come out of the Womb, which is the best Proof and Answer could be given to those Noises they were so well acquainted with.

That the Deponents Servants seeing Queen D-----r Coaches Lady B----- in St. James's, at an unusual Hour, asked the occasion, and was told the Queen was in Labour.

Note how private the Labour was carried, lest some might hear it by chance, that were not sent for, who might be too prying, for this Lady lives just by St. James's, and tho' a great Catholick and Favourite, (Lord B--- being a Minister of State) yet neither she nor her Servants, who 'tis to be supposed were up and down the Streets, being about Eight of the Clock, heard nor saw any thing like it; certainly this Precaution was not for nothing, since I am sure Truth needs none.

When the Deponent came she found Mrs. W---ks sitting by the Bedside, with her hands in the Bed. The Hands in the Bed is the principal Evidence of a great many, which was certainly to keep the Child from smothering; and indeed, that brought forth more plentifully than the Queen.

The Queen ask'd the Midwife what she thought; who assur'd her Majesty, that the next great Pain the Child would be born; whereupon the King call'd the Privy-Counsellors in, and immediately (that they might be dispatch'd, and not stay to pry about) the Queen shrieks, and the Prince was born. A very pretty Account, a Child must be fetch'd out of a Bed; made Prince of Wales; likely to ruin all Europe: And this, by the Assistance of a few Witnesses, who can give no Reason for it, but several Evidences against it, and yet one single Womans saying so, a Woman disabl'd, particularly from being a Witness in civil Causes, and yet to be the Maker and Raiser up of a Successor, by an implicit Faith on her Words; and to make it as sure as possible, no Body came to Court but what was sent for, and the Men were not called in 'till they were ready, and all things order'd to make it appear as fair as could be contriv'd.

Now had there been fair Dealing, they ought to have sent for honest People, not their own Creatures, and those to be admitted as soon as they come. This had shewn they needed no time.

Suppose a Man had murder'd another, the Constable comes to search, the Murderer prays the Constable to stay 'till he calls him in, so he buries the Party he has murder'd, Cloaths and all, lays the Floor again, washes away the Blood, so when the Room is dry the Constable is admitted. But which is worst of all, our Privy-Councillors had not the liberty of looking in that very Place where they knew the Cheat lay hid.

This yet is farther against them, That of all the Men sent for, 'twas so order'd, that the Doctors, (who could judge better of these things, or the Truth of the Labour, than either Men or Women) not one was time enough to be at the Labour, tho' all pretensively desir'd.

Lastly, There is one thing more with relation to Mrs. W---, who would intimate thus: *That presently, as soon as she cut the Navel-string, the Child cry'd*: The Navel-string was cut in Bed, ergo it must by this Reasoning cry in Bed. But this Deponent B--- says, *That she open'd the Receiver, (so that the Child was out of Bed) and not hearing the Child cry, and seeing it a little black, she was afraid it was in a Convulsion Fit.* So that Mrs. W---'s Intimation is design'd (as may be gather'd from what I spoke before to the Matter of the Navel-string) and would have it be thought that the Child cry'd sooner than really it did.

But, perhaps, some may urge, That I contradict my self, having urg'd before, that the Navel-string's not being cut hinder'd the Child from crying; so that if that hinder'd, the Navel-string was cut, and yet I own it cry'd not thereon.

To this I answer, The Child might have died in this smothering Fit, had it been kept uncut much longer, whereby being much indispos'd, that time after the Cutting to the Crying was only to recover itself.

Mrs. C---e. This Deponent did not follow the Child into the little Bed-Chamber, but stay'd with the Queen, and saw all that was to be seen after the Birth of a Child, that is an After-burden and bloody Clouts; but nothing of the Womb or Belly, of which we should not have only heard from her, but from others, for she cannot be suppos'd to see alone.

As for her saying, *She saw all that was to be seen after the Birth of a Child*: This is not well express'd, for it should have been this, viz. *Is or can be seen by the Body of the Queen, &c.* for if this Inspection was not on the Body, which had it been, she would certainly have spoke of, but this implying nothing but bloody Clouts, the Midwife's bloody Hands, After-burden, &c. the Clouts were certainly those which were us'd about the true Woman, which might be easily convey'd, and privately, into the Queen's Bed; and as for the bloody Hands, 'tis so easie to be done, that it cannot possibly be urg'd as a Certainty against a strongly presum'd false Birth. And farther 'tis very partial and contradictory, for as the Labour was not like the usual and common Labours, that is, I mean on Pallets, in Chairs, or the Bed turn'd down, so as the Womb is apparent; what was seen after, relating to the Queen, was no Sign of any Labour or Delivery she had really undergone, but indeed there might be Signs, as might be of any other's Labour, as Clouts, &c. but this Lady could not say the Queen's Body was the occasion.

E. M---on. The Deponent says, *He found the Lord Craven waiting at the Queen's Bed-Chamber Door, which was then shut; just after the King open'd it, and call'd the Deponent and Lord Craven in; (but what to do? Why truly to send 'em out again) for they staid not in the Bed-Chamber, but he sent 'em into the Dressing-Room.* Now, tho' the King held some Discourse with the Deponent as follows, yet the Deponent saw nothing, for had he (being so particular in every thing else) he would have spoke to this.

The Deponent ask'd his Majesty *How the Queen was?* Who answer'd the Deponent, *You are a marry'd Man, and so may know these Matters; the Water is broke, or come away; or to that effect.*

Now that the Water was broke, is a thing depending only on the Queen's saying so, for there is not one speaks a Word of it, nor indeed was there any Body in the Room but Mrs. W---s when 'tis said to be; so that it depends wholly between the Queen, Mrs. W---s, and the King's saying so.

Note, There is no certainty in the Water breaking; for sometimes it breaks before the Labour; but the Queen must not do so; if she began, she must go thro' stitch; for had she stay'd so long after it, Eyes would have been about her.

All the Company were call'd into the Queen's Chamber, where he heard the Queen groan, and presently after several loud Shrieks, the Deponent heard them say the Queen was deliver'd.

Now was there ever so little seen at a Woman's Labour, as for a Parry to be at Bed's-feet, no Body between him and the Parry delivering, and yet he see, nor know, nor give no other reason why she was brought to Bed.

Where

Whereupon the Deponent stepp'd up to the Bed-side, and saw the Midwife put her Hands and Arms in the Bed, and fetch a Child out, (as the Deponent believes, for that he could not then see it) and gave it to Mrs. Delabady, which the Deponent after saw in the little Room, &c. In all which the Deponent saying nothing new, but what has been sufficiently answer'd before, I shall leave him, and proceed to the next.

E. H—n Says nothing material, but that the King said the Queen came according to her first Reckoning.

Some Women do not know certainly their Reckonings, but come contrary to all Thoughts or Expectation, but the Queen to know her Reckoning to a Day, which after proving the true, must certainly in all the time of Conception and Bigness, have given her more Items of it than the other, but she never prepared for it; but I hope I spoke fully to this Head before.

S—ey says no more, than That she was at such Labour, as the rest, and as for Circumstances, she speaks none, knowing no more than what twelve before had and recounted, and that she went with the Child into the little Bed-Chamber, and took a warm Napkin, and laid on the Childs Breast, believing the Child was not well; an Expression of a slight Qualm, that will pass over, which is the very consequent Effect of not cutting the Navel.

E. of M—rt Neither saw the Midwife nor the Queen, but heard the Ladies say (another Hearsay, prime Witnesses) the Queen was brought to Bed; and following the Prince into the little Bed-Chamber, he saw him in the condition of a new born Child. Where is the Latitude of this Answer? New born is promiscuously us'd; now we don't question but it appear'd to you new born, but that it was above an hour before that time.

And the Deponent, by the Oath he hath taken, believes him to be the Queen's Child.

I think there is not a more arrogant presumptive Line in the whole Book, except his Brother M—y, by whom, as he is out done, so it may be said by both, that the Scotch Evidence has out done the Irish.

Certainly none ever spoke so boldly without giving some Reason or Pretence, tho' never so incongruous, being a Man who had never seen the Queen's Milk, Belly, nor any thing before the Labour, to induce him to it.

E. of M—y. Behold a Man of the same Character, Religion, and Circumstances, that had less reason, if possible, to swear, Yet he verily believes, as he is alive, she brought the Prince into the World that very Morn, being the 10th of June last. To speak to it, were superfluous, for his Answer enough to it self, tho' indeed 'tis of as much weight as the major part of the Depositions.

La—y So—a Bu—y, came not till after Nine, and thinking the Queen in no strong Pain, went into the next Room, but after a while hearing a Noise, and being told the Child was born, she run to the Queens Bed-chamber, and heard the Queen say to the Midwife, pray Mrs. W—s don't part the Child.

Whereby it appears, she saw not all the Steps that had been made, whereby she might have judg'd of their falseness, but came after Nine.

The next thing to be consider'd, is the not cutting the Navel String, wherein lies a great advantage; first, it kept the Child quiet, and from crying

crying in the Bed, or Warming-pan, for it has been experimented, and there appears great reason in the thing; for why does it not cry in the Womb, but because the Child is in its *prima Materia*, and as a Child cries not while fasten'd to its Root, its *prima Materia*, or place of Formation; so we see the Flowers never spread nor bear, tho' never so deep in the Ground, till they come above; so a Child, tho' out of the Womb, yet having the same Ligature Chain still fasten'd to him while in the Womb, which by a natural Ordination of Nature, does keep 'em from opening the Mouth; and this yet appears more, if you consider, that the Child has not any occasion of his Mouth, for he receives Nourishment by that, as we by the Mouth; and till he was deprived of that, he could not do any Office, that the Mouth is instrumental to; so that notwithstanding 'tis an impracticable thing not to cut the Navel String, yet they pass'd that over, being oblig'd to do it, for the Advantage of keeping the Child quiet. And *Secondly*, By this means they shew'd the After-burden in a more indentify'd manner of a late Birth, (which they were oblig'd to) than had the Burden been parted, and nor left fasten'd to the Child, for had they cut it before, the Blood would either have run out, or retir'd, and made that part from whence it went, cold, and much unlike the other.

Well then, having prov'd it necessary, and highly convenient not to cut the Navel-String, for that they might shew it as new Born, they endeavour'd to confirm it by doing a frivolous unusual thing of giving it three Drops, thereby intimating, that if the Child had been long born, they could not have fetch'd fresh Blood; when as I have shewn before, that the Burden is made of parts capable of retaining blood, and that of warmth when laid in a warm place; and for that an After-burden does remain in almost the same plight for some considerable time after the Child is born, and more especially if it be not parted. Notwithstanding, I say 'tis dangerous, but that was only to the Mother, a Creature hir'd and rewarded, yet 'twas absolutely necessary to the Cheat; and as the String not being cut, was the reason of its not crying, so it was of its blackness, and being kept so long stupify'd and smother'd in the Cloaths.

As to the Queen's reprimanding the King for not being by her, is to shew, that if some object that the Queen might cheat the King, whom they think would not do his Children so much harm, the Queen having not that reason, might do it without his consent; but to shew that she desired no such thing, is urgent with the King to be always about her, which no doubt is a great security to the unbelieving Protestants.

But why went Mrs. D—dy away with the Child before the After-burden came away, seeing the Midwife had as much need of Attendance then as before? Why, truly there was but two of them, and should any else that knew not the Cheat, or been privy, they might have open'd the Child to those parts of his Body which might have given some Suspicion; but Mrs. D. who knew how to shew the freshest, and conceal the other, run away in such haste with the Child, that none might take notice what W—s did about the Queen.

Well then, 'tis own'd she not cutting the Navel-string, was the occasion of its blackness; that blackness being contracted in the long while it was out of the Womb, and almost smother'd, not for any hard Labour, for the blackness and stunning comes so, yet it must be from a weaker,

and more extraordinary, long, and painful Labour, than this can pretend to be.

And it farther appears, that this blackness proceeded from its being so long out of the Womb, and the Navel not cut : And that it was not hard Labour, for then the Child would not have so suddenly and clearly got over it as two Hours, which seem'd but while he was refresh'd from an Inconvenience and Indisposition of being not duly enlarg'd after its being taken from the Womb. And farther, that the Child had been long from the Womb, (as I am credibly inform'd) by the Slimes being almost dry'd, is evident ; for it was so long as two Hours cleansing, which no Child taken fresh from the Womb could be, but as this was, bak'd on.

The Deponent had the Honour to wait very often on the Queen in her Dressing-room and Bed-chamber, and hath oftentimes seen the Queen's Milk, as well as when this Deponent hath put on her Majesty's Smock.

So then the Occasion of seeing this Milk, was not a design'd Thing for to Inspect her, or do any Thing about her, but a Thing by Chance ; just as the Queen was pleas'd to give the Occasion herself, (which you may be sure was not so far as to her Prejudice) and the Deponent could not look farther, wherein might be made use of that Artifice I spoke of before to the Countess of L —, for no other appears by this Deponent ; and had it been otherwise, they would have said, out of her bare naked Breast, without any covering, and that she look'd on it a Considerable while, and that it came out drop by drop, though, as I said before, Milk may be drawn down. And that this could be nothing but a Gance, is apparent from the Action then, giving her occasion, which must be in Bed, the Curtains drawn, and as Quick as may be ; perhaps the Shift must put over her Head, and the other put down to come off at her Feet, least she should take Cold, which is dangerous when with Child.

Dutchess of L — says not one Word to the Purpose, but that the Queen shew'd the Deponent her Smock, which was all wet with Milk. Now, we allow of this, and will subscribe to the Belief of the Fact, being nothing but what may easily be done, and yet no Evidence, as I have sufficiently shew'd before.

That she was not at the Labour, but remembers, that at a Time when the Queen apprehended she should miscarry, (of which, neither this Lady, nor the Physician, nor any of the Witnesses, give any Sign or Reason, but that the Queen told them so.) And the Physicians made her Majesty keep her Bed for that Reason, &c. which being no Matter of Evidence, I shall proceed to the next.

Mrs. P — she heard the Queen cry out, being in great Pain, and saw the Midwife hold up the After-burden, which no Doubt was from the same Womb they had the Child, and can be no Evidence that either was the Queen's.

That the Deponent immediately after took all away the foul Linnen hot they came from the Queen ; and that for a Month after her Majesty's lying in, the Deponent well knew, by the washing of her Linnen, that the Queen was in the same Condition that all other Women use to be on the like Occasion.

All this being no Evidence that can be rely'd on, an Answer is not necessary ; for none of the pretended Signs of a Delivery were easier to be counterfeited, than this of the Linnen.

Mrs.

Mrs. Ma---l was several times in the Queen's Bed-Chamber when she shifted herself, and had seen her Smock stain'd with her Milk, and does in her Conscience believe her Majesty was with Child, both by her Milk and Belly.

Here is prov'd what I urg'd against the others, viz. that being in the Room when the Queen shifted, is no Argument, that they saw either the Queen's Belly, Breast, or Milk drop out thereof, for that this Lady was there very often, yet saw no more than her Smock stain'd ; and am assur'd the Queen is as free with this Lady as any at Court, which appears by the Deposition, for that she was sent for, but came not, being sick, so knows nothing of the Labour.

Dame Is-- We--b often saw the Milk of her Majesty's Breast upon her Smock, which the Queen was much troubl'd at, (as to this I have spoken already) and that she, the Deponent did once feel the Child stir in the Queen's Belly, while her Majesty was in Bed, &c.

The Deposition is express'd with all the *Roman* Catholick Caution as might be ; the only Thing in it that seems to be of any Weight, is feeling the Child stir in the Queen's Belly, which being mention'd only in general Terms, amounts to no more than that it was through the Cloaths ; for if it had been otherwise, she had certainly said so, and it was very easy to impose upon her Belief in so nice a Business as that especially when it may reasonably be consider'd to be done on purpose that the Deponent might be made use of upon any questioning of the pretended Prince.

Lady P---w. That she saw the Milk often on her Majesty's Smock (which I have sufficiently answer'd) and often saw her Majesty's Belly so as it could be no Counterfeit, &c.

She did not see the Belly naked is evident, because she speaks not of it ; so that this seeing it, must be after some other manner, and what more correspondent with the Words, than by the usual seeing Women with great Bellies, which we really think to be so by the outward appearance.

Lord G---n. That the Deponent was call'd into the Queen's Bed-Chamber, but could not get near the Bed, but stood by the Chimney ; there the Deponent heard the Queen cry out several times, and that the last Cry was much greater than the others, &c. This Lord's Deposition being only for show, to make up the Number larger, and very little to the purpose, I will spare the Reader and my self the trouble of any particular Answer.

Col. G---n. The first part of this Affidavit, is only that the King call'd them into the Bed-Chamber, after he, with several Lords of the Council, had waited about half an hour ; whereby it appears, that he dur'd not approach till the King call'd. Immediately after, the said Lords, and this Deponent were in the Room, the Queen cry'd out extremely, Oh ! I dye ! You kill me ! You kill me ! Then presently Mr. D---n made this Deponent the Sign that the Child was born.

It wou'd amaze any sober Man, to consider what strange sort of Evidence this is to prove the Birth of a Prince, intended for the Heir to the Crown : I shall not say one Word by way of Answer to it, there being not the least Argument to prove what 'twas printed for, since no Body can allow the Queen's crying out to be satisfactory Evidence.

Lord E---m. That he waited on her Majesty the Queen Dowager, to *St. James's*, and led her into the Queen Consort's Bed-Chamber, and finding the Queen in pain, the Deponent went into the next Room, from whence the Deponent heard the Queen cry out several times, and a very little after, the Deponent, and Lords of the Council were call'd in; that the Deponent call'd *Mrs. D—* into the little Bed-Chamber, where he saw the P—— as a Child newly born.

This Lord's Deposition, as well as several mention'd before, having nothing new for Evidence, but what has been already sufficiently Answer'd, I shall pass over, as also the Lord *Cr—ms*, Sir *St—F—x*, E. of *M—ve's*, E. of *Pet—b's*, *A—l's*, E. of *Su—d's*, and Lord *Gef—y's*, all which lay the stress of their Depositions upon hearing the Queen cry out, and seeing the Child foul likewise (as the Chancellor says) reeking; as to the former, none can pretend 'tis an Argument the least stress in the World can be laid on; and for the latter I have clearly demonstrated before, the Child may be brought from the adjoining Convent, and yet appear as they have deposed.

Dr. W—ly. The Deponent was by when the Prince of *Wales* was born. But now will be ask'd if no other Circumstances were, why did he assert he was at a Birth? To this I answer as before, that he having nothing but Suspicions could not do it; and knowing not whither any would stand by him, he must be deliver'd up to the Anger of a Prince: Neither, indeed, could he have done any good in saying so, for what could he have asserted more than is obvious, and what all wise Men, as well as he perceive? so that the not throwing out such Words, is a preservation of himself, Estate, and Family; which altho' had run the risque could have done us little good, for that the Circumstances are as strongly suspicious every whit, as if he had said so, for it could but have added at best one more publick to our Party, who is already of the Opinion in private by the wording of his Deposition; for that being a Physician he ought to have brought Circumstances, which in his opinion were feasible, and his not giving any of the Birth, is a great Evidence against it.

The Deponent saw *Mrs. Del—* bring the Child from the Midwife, and saw the Child before he was cleansed.

Whereas the Question is, Did you see the Child born? Which has no other Answer, than seeing one bring the Child from the Midwife; as to the seeing the Child before it was cleansed; suppose it had not been cleansed till this time, does that argue, that because he saw it in its Filth, 'twas born but a Minute since, nay, he does not here make any Summary or Recognition, as from what he could see he did in his Conscience believe it but Born three Minutes since, for tho' it was excusable in Lords, and somewhat less in the Women, yet it was highly requisite for the Doctors to speak to this, by reason of the more right Distinction to be presum'd from them than others; whereby it appears they perceiv'd it, but conceal'd their Sentiments for Safety. And it behov'd the King to remind the Doctors, that they spoke of this more particularly, for that it would have gain'd Credit from them rather than from others; like as a Lawyers Opinion is of more Validity in Law than any other Persons. Why then was so material a Point smother'd when Interest call'd, but that they could not speak to it, so as to make for the King? We (the said Deponent, and the other Physicians) did take two drops of Blood from the Navel.

Navel String, which remain'd upon the Child, and gave it in a Spoonful of black Cherry-Water, as the Queen commanded.

So then this frivolous thing was not by the Doctors order, as Mrs. W— and her Assistants cry, but by the Queen's, which Corroborates what have said before, that this was only a thing design'd to make shew of a true and late Birth, and so (like the consciously guilty) prepar'd Suspicions. After this, the Deponent saw the After-burden entire.

So we say, that an entire Burden was, but to say it came from the Queen, is Nonsense, but agrees with ours, that having their Choice, to be sure it should be of a healthy Man and Woman, who should get a sound Child, and a sound After-burden are Consequences ; but to apply it to the Queen, is absurd and inconsistent ; for as she nor he were healthy, so could not they have a sound Child, or sound After-burthen ; for that every Word, and all throughout the Book (three Words of Mrs. W—s excepted, *I deliver'd her of that Child*) make for us by the most genuine, free, and unforc'd Construction, and make nothing for them, even with the most partial Construction ; for what can this mean of the After-burden, having not prov'd it her Child, would he say this is her Burden ? If it was her's, it must not be entire nor sound ; if the right Mother's, it must be entire and sound, as the Doctor says.

Dr. Sc—gh. The Deponent came not 'till Mrs. D— was by the Fire ; so that having seen nothing of the Labour, tho' he ought to have been there, and about Court all the Time of the Child-bearing ; of what would he intimate by all this ? *He found the Queen in good Condition, but weary and panting.*

And no Question she seem'd as bad as she could ; yet this was to one who saw the Reality thro' the Pretences ; which were so weak to him, and the real Strength so apparent, that he affirms she was in a good Condition ; which is a great Corroboration to ours.

And saw the After-burden reeking warm ; but was it so reeking and warm, as you can assert, according to your Belief and Sentiments, that it could not have been taken out above a Minute from the Womb, this had certainly been to the Purpose ; which neither the Doctors nor the King were ignorant of, and would certainly have been urg'd, could he have done it ; which he examin'd, and found sound and perfect. So we say too ; and yet not the Queen's, for the Reasons I mention'd before.

That after a while the Deponent understood, that a Medicine was mention'd among the Ladies, for a certain Remedy against Convulsions. It was some Drops of Blood from the Navel-string. The Deponent consulted Sir T. Wi—ly, and the other Physicians ; and to satisfy the Women, they allow'd of it, there being, as they conceiv'd, no Danger in the Thing.

Here's not a Word of their own Order, Desire, or Advice, but they only allow'd of it to satisfy these Ladies, there being, as was conceiv'd, no Danger in the Thing ; so that Mrs. W—s and D—es false Assertion proves the Design on 'em.

Sir W. W—ve. That she told the Deponent, she had Milk in her Breast, which dropt out.

But the Deponent neither saw the Milk it self, nor any Circumstance to make him think so, which his Zeal for the Cause would not have let slip, being more to the purpose, if he could, than any thing throughout his Deposition.

The Deponent also affirmeth, that her Majesty took such astringent Medicines, during the most part of her being with Child, in order to avoid miscarrying, that if she had not been with Child, they must have been prejudicial to her Health, and of dangerous Consequence.

It was material to say whether they see her take those Astringents; if they did not, there's no Reason but to think she threw them away, for she would not hazard her Body when the contrary was so easy, so that there is no more said, than that Astringents were made; and if any Body had seen the Queen take them, they would certainly have been brought to testify it.

Now, the very best can be suppos'd of this Thing, is, that the Queen told him that she had taken them, altho' he mentions it not, which he would, had it been so; but then it would again be ask'd, whether the Queen would tell a Lie.

Upon the 10th of June 1688 the Deponent was call'd, at his Lodgings in Whitehall, to wait upon the Queen, being told she was in Labour, upon which the Deponent immediately went to St. James's, and so into the Queen's Bed-chamber, and found her beginning her Labour, it being about eight of the Clock in the Morning.

Now, this is a gross Insinuation, for that, by all Circumstances and account of the Time, it must be above a quarter past eight 'ere she gave any such Notice, and then it must be half an Hour after eight 'ere he could have Notice and come: This I am sure he cannot but be sensible of, and it shall the rather be thought partial, for that he is at least a Well-wisher, whom this Child would not only promote, and his whole family, but he knew he should lose his present Employ, should the Princess succeed; and all this to insinuate that the Labour was longer, than indeed it pretendedly was, and to show the timely Notice, and long Labour she had.

That the Deponent was in the Bed Chamber when she cry'd out, and was deliver'd. Now, this crying out, and this Delivery, was just as before recorded; for that this Doctor can add nothing more.

And that he saw the Burthen fresh and warm; which, without farther explanation, is nothing to the Purpose, as I mention'd before.

Mr. St. A——d. That from the Beginning of November last, he bath generally 'till the 9th of June 1688, given by the Physician's Orders, reagent and corroborating Medicines to the Queen's Majesty.

The Doctors ordering such Things to be made, does not imply in the least, that she took them, since ordering or preparing to take, is never understood admin'ring; and as for his saying he gave 'em to her Majesty, 'tis more than for an Apothecary to say I gave such a one Physick, when commonly he never saw him take it; and the Words imply no more.

That the Messenger by whom he was sent for, told him the Queen was in Labour, and that the Deponent then receiv'd a Note from the Physicians for her Majesty; which the Deponent was oblig'd to stay and prepare, and so come not to St. James's 'till the Queen was deliver'd, before is set forth by Hear-say, &c.

That the Deponent saw the Child naked before it was cleans'd from the curies of its Birth: And suppose it had not been cleans'd 'till this minute, and you were now seeing it, does that argue the Child was born three Quarters after Nine?

And also saw the Navel-string cut, and come Drops of the fresh Blood receiv'd into a Spoon, which the Deponents mingl'd with a little Black Cherry-Water, and saw given, by the Physician's Orders, to the Child. And afterwards going into the great Bed-chamber, where the Queen was deliver'd, he saw the After-burden fresh and warm.

We do not at all question, nor is there any Affeuration, that by the Navel-string he thought it to be born as pretended, or that by the Freshness and Warmth of the After-burden, 'twas certainly evident, that that Burden was deliver'd but a few Minutes since; for a Navel-string, tho' not cut 'til two or three Hours, 'tis possible the Burden may yet keep fresh and warm, but 'tis evident, that his Explanation would have done them no good, but us, and so partially leaves it at large to catch the Unwary.

As for Dr. B——y, I cannot say more against its Insufficiency to the Matter of any Proof, than what will occur to the meanest Capacity in reading it; nay, the setting it forth verbatim will shew it self more insufficient, than can be imagin'd from any Explication I can put on it, and to take it in naked with all her Hear-says, and not one Expression or Affeuration on, from whence any such Construction can be rais'd.

Dr. R——t Br——y. That a little before Ten of the Clock in the Morning, on the 10th of June 1688, the Deponent was in the Queen's little Bed-chamber at St. James's, where the Deponent saw the Prince of Wales in Mrs. La——y's Lap by the Fire-side. The Deponent desir'd to see the Linnen and Blankets open'd in which he was wrapp'd; which being done, the Deponent saw it was a Male Child, and the Navel-string hanging down to, or below the Virile Parts, with a Ligature upon it, not far from the Body, but did not see any After-burden hanging at, or join'd to it, not being at the Birth. The Deponent ask'd how long he had been born? The Standers-by told him, at three Quarters of an Hour after nine of the Clock, the Queen was deliver'd.

And now any understanding Person may consider with himself, if these frivolous Pretences, tho' granted to be true, are of any Force or Validity, but that a counterfeit Labour might be carry'd on with the Appearance of all these Circumstances.

Those too that give in their Depositions, being for the most Part partial, unfit, or illegal Persons, and their Examination manag'd with apparent Design and Partiality. Upon the whole, all reasonable People must conclude that a true Birth can stand in need of no such Tricks; and if it shall be said, that keeping the Queen cover'd in a Bed was for Modesty's sake, because of the Men, yet why was there not that Freedom and Plainness to the Women ere the Men came in; for not one of the Women, except W——s so much as saw or felt her naked Belly? This is what can never be palliated; and tho' it should be objected, that it is usually so, yet there is not usually such Occasions of Plainness, as was at this Time; and therefore the next Heir not being present, nor any lawfully capacitated, they ought to have been more plain and exposing: And I hope what has been said, will sufficiently convince the World, and prevent any Designs of the Papists, in raising up Factions to uphold a pretended Title, which the most partial People in the World can give no tolerable Reason should be allow'd of.

O that they would now consider of their Wickedness, repent and prevent it! but the impending Miseries, I hope, my present and future Endeavours shall in some Measure prevent, by a Detection of the Matter; and thereby make all foreign Princes, however juggl'd with, to be backward in assisting, and to slight such wicked, scandalous, and unjust Pretences. Finis

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